THE CHAMCHA AGE

AN ERA OF THE STOOGES

by
Kanshi Ram

Released on 24th September, 1982
On the occasion of 50 th Anniversary of
POONA PACT

SHOUT
SHARE
IT

DEDICATED

to

MAHATMA JYOTIRAO PHULE

Whose initiation of cultural revolt in colonial India, later taken up by Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy and many other rebellious spirits brought us to this level where we are thinking, planning and struggling to put an end to the **Chamcha Age** and usher in **Bright Age** for the Shudras and Ati-Shudras.

THE CHAMCHA AGE

(An Era of the Stooges)

by

KANSHI RAM

First Edition

Published on 24th September, 1982
on the occasion of 50th Anniversary of
The Poona Pact

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Preface

As victims of the Brahminical culture, for centuries, the Shudras and Ati-Shudras, now known as the Backward Castes (S. C., S. T. and O. B. C.) were passing through the **Dark Age**. Around 1848 Jyotirao Phule initiated revolt against the Brahminical culture. From the beginning of the 20th century, the **Depressed Classes** all over India started revolting against the Brahminical culture. Around 1920, they were lucky to have the leadership of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

Upto 1930, The struggle of the **Depressed Classes** was largely ignored by Gandhiji and the Congress. During the **Round Table** Conferences of 1930,31 & 32 when it could not be ignord, Gandhiji and his Congress fought tooth and nail to deny them their due. But on the 17 th August 1932, when the Communal Award was announced, Gandhiji was shocked to see that the able leadership of Dr. Ambedkar could secure for them, both **Recognition** and **Rights**.

This was too much for Gandhiji and his Congress. To deny the Depressed Classes their due Gandhiji went on fast till death on 20th Sept. 1932. Such coercive methods forced Poona-Pact on the Depressed Classes. But even the Poona-Pact could not take away Recognition. Thus we see that when Caste Hindus were forced to concede a little bit of power, they took to second line of defence. They saw to it that they must not lose control over it. This was secured by the Poona-Paet, by way of denying the right to **Separate Electorates** and forcing the **Joint Electorates** on the Depressed Classes. Through the **Joint Electorates**, the representatives of the Depressed Classes became only nominal representatives and not real representatives, for no untouchable who did not agree to be a nominee of the Caste Hindus and be a **Chamcha** in their hands, could be elected in a **Joint Electorates** in which the untouchable voter was outnumbered in ratio of 1 to 5.

With this started the **Chamcha Age** on Sept. 24, 1932, the date when Poona-Pact was signed taking away the **Separate Electorates** and forcing the **Joint Electorates** on the Depressed Classes of India. Now when the Chamcha Age is 50 years old, it has been decided to write this book, besides denouncing the Poona Pact in a big way and all over India.

The purpose of writing this book is to enlighten, awaken and caution the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj (Oppressed and Exploited Society) and its workers and leaders about the large scale existence of this element of stooges (Chamchas) in our oppressed and exploited society. The book is also designed to make the masses, especially the workers, to distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit leadership. Those who struggle to change the times, the Age, must know and understand the Age in which they are living and operating. The book is designed to serve that purpose as well.

To make the book more purposeful, it has been divided into 4 parts and 17 chapters. Part I and II gives a glimpse of the past struggles, Part III speaks of the present times and Part IV suggests ways and means for the future struggles. Thus all the 4 parts and 17 chapters put to-gether secure continuity of the past,present and future happenings and struggles relevant to the purpose before the Book.

Initially a booklet of about 50 pages was designed to enlighten and caution our own missionary workers about the existence and nature of the element of stooges amongst the oppressed and exploited Indians. Later on, it was thought necessary to give the background, the past events that eventually pushed us into the **Chamcha Age**. To fulfil this need, the quoting of past events extensively became inevitable. All this brought the book to its present size.

The book contains 3 memorandums and one long statement by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Even otherwise Dr. Ambedkar has been largely referred and extensively quoted. Keeping in mind the controversial nature of the topic and the wrong stand on celebrating the golden jubilee of the Poona Pact by the lieutenants of Baba Saheb Ambedkar, we are forced to take shelter under the heavy cover of his writings and works. Thus the risk of repetition

and over-emphasis has been purposely and wilfully taken to secure continuity, clarity and credibility.

The following 4 words :—(i) Tool (ii) Agent (iii) Stooge (iv) Chamcha carry almost the same meaning, but slightly different spirit. All over the book, these 4 words have been used depending upon their effectiveness in carrying the meaning and the spirit. In the common man's terminology, a tool, an agent, or a stooge is termed as Chamcha. And in this book, I have decided to use common man's terminology. To my mind, it will be fruitful to use common man's terminology when we fight for his cause.

If you call some one as Chamcha, he will not like it and is likely to go against you. But when you are calling the Age as the Chamcha Age, you are biting so many and they may hit back. But as Chamcha cannot operate on its own, the operator may hit you back with the Chamcha. We should, therefore, be prepared for the "Chamcha Attack". To keep the attack mild, we have refrained from illustrating the events by giving the names, even at the risk of becoming vague and leaving a lot of guess work for our readers.

At any rate, the Chamcha attack should not frighten us, because a Chamcha is not a powerful or a deadly weapon. Besides, we must aim at the hand that uses the Chamcha. If hit hard, the Chamcha will fall. A fallen Chamcha is absolutely harmless. Thus, this way, we hope to end the **Chamcha Age** within a short span of about 10 years.

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24th Sept. 1982

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PART—I

PRELUDE TO POONA PACT

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THE INITIAL EFFORTS

From the very beginning of the 20th century, India witnessed great changes. In this changing India, the opprassed Indians were not to lag behind. The High Caste Hindus were fighting for Swarajya, the Oppressed Indians were struggling for self-respect. The slaves were shouting for freedom and self-rule, whereas the slaves of the slaves were creating counter-noise for relief from the age old bondage, serfdom and humiliations unknown to the rest of the world. The High Caste Hindus were building their organisation and developing techniques to coax the rulers, the British for an early transfer of power into their hands. The depressed classes were getting frightened by the very thought of such a thing happening without relief for them and adequate safeguards for their honourable living in the future where their age old oppressers were to be the rulers of India.

For the untouchables and the depressed classes it was a welcome change. For centuries before that they had been the willing slaves of the High Caste Hindus. Why this sudden change on their part ? This change was very much the outcome of the British rule. With the British as rulers of India, came the western education, western civilisation and culture. This exposure to the western civilisation and culture for a pretty long time caused a new awakening amongst the depressed classes. As a result of the British rule many more factors became operative and induced alround aspirations amongest the depressed classes of India.

During this period, we find the depressed classes up in arms against untouchability and unjust social order almost all over India. Looking at the map of India, from Punjab to Bengal, the Adi-Dharmis, the Jatavas, the Kureels, the Pasis, the Paswans and the Namo-shudras were restless and struggling for self-respect. Moving downwards, we find the Ahirwars, the Berwas, the Satnamis, the Mahars, the Adi-Andhras, the Adi-Karnatakas, the Adi-Dravidas, the Pulayas and the Ezwas and many more groups of

the depressed classes revolting against the oppressive features of the Brahminical culture.

All these efforts of the depressed classes were yielding some results. Almost everywhere, the High Caste Hindus were making some compromises. How the Congress, the organisation of the High Caste Hindus was forced to pass the following resolution in the year 1917, shows the extent of the success of the efforts of the depressed classes.

The Congress resolution of 1917 :

> "This Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the Depressed Classes, the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience."

To win over the sympathy and the consent of the depressed classes to tide over the then prevalent situation the Congress was forced to pass that resolution. The passing of this resolution had been described by Dr. Ambedkar as a strange event. The helplessness of the Congress at that time, the mischief of passing that resolution, later inaction is described below in the words of Dr. Ambedkar :—

"Against this background the resolution passed by the Congress about the Depressed Classes in 1917 is obviously a strange event. The Congress had never done such a thing before although it had functioned for thirty-two years. It was even contrary to its declared policy.

Why did the Congress think it necessary to pass such a resolution in the year 1917 ? What made it take congnizance of the Untouchables ? What did it want to gain ? Whom did it want to deceive ? Was it because of some ulterior motive ? For an answer to these questions one must turn to the following resolutions passed by the Depressed Classes in the year 1917 at two separate meetings held in the City of Bombay under two different Presidents. The first of these meetings was held on the 11th November 1917 under the Chairmanship of the late Sir Narayan

Chandavarkar. In that meeting the following resolutions were passed :-

"First Resolution-Loyalty to British Government and prayer for victory to the Allies."

"Second Resolution carried at the meeting by an overwhelming majority, the dissentients being about a dozen, expressed approval of the scheme of reform in the administration of India recommended by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League."

"Third Resolution carried unanimously was : 'As the population of the Depressed Classes in India considered Untouchable and treated as such, is very large, as their condition is very degraded owing to that treatment and as they are behind the rest of the people in point of education, being unable to secure fair opportunities for their improvement, this public meeting of the Depressed Classes strongly feels that in the scheme of reform and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils which Government may be pleased to adopt, due regard be paid to the interests of the said classes. This meeting therefore prays the British Government to be so gracious as to protect those interests by granting to those classes the right to elect their own representatives to the said Councils in proportion to their numbers."

"Fourth Resolution unanimously carried at the meeting was : 'That the Government be prayed for the adoption, with all convenient speed, of a compulsory and free system of education rendered necessary by the fact that the social elevation of any community depends upon the universal spread of education among its members and that degradation of the Depressed Classes is due to their illiteracy and ignorance."

"Fifth Resolution carried unanimously was as follows :— 'That the Chairman of this public meeting be authorised to request the Indian National Congress to pass at its forthcoming session a distinct and independent resolution declaring to the people of India at large the necessity, justice, and righteousness of removing all the disabilities imposed by religion and custom upon the

Depressed Classes, those disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenince by prohibiting them from admission into public schools, hospitals, courts of justice and public offices, and the use of public wells etc. These disabilities social in origin, amount in law and practice to political disabilities and as such fall legitimately within the political mission and propaganda of the Indian National Congress."

"Sixth Resolution prays all Hindus of the castes other than the Untouchables and Depressed, especially those of the higher castes, who claim political rights, to take steps for the purpose of removing the blot of degradation from the Depressed Classes, which has subjected those classes to the worst of treatment in their own country."

The second meeting was also held in November 1917 a week or so after the first meeting. The Chairman was one Bapuji Namdeo Bagade a leader of the Non-Brahmin Party. At this meeting the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

(1) Resolution of loyalty to the British throne."

"(2) That this meeting cannot give its support to the Congress-League Scheme in spite of its having been declared to have been passed at the meeting of 11th November 1917 by an overwhelming majority."

"(3) That it is the sense of this meeting that the administration of India should be largely under the control of the British till all classes and specially the Depressed Classes, rise up to a condition to effectually participate in the administration of the country."

"(4) That if the British Government have decided to give political concession to the Indian Public, this meeting prays that Government should grant the Untouchables their own representatives in the various legislative bodies to ensure to them their civil and political rights."

"(5) That this meeting approves of the objects of the Bahiskrit Bharat Samaj (Depressed India Association) and

supports the deputation to be sent on its behalf to Mr. Montagu".

"(6) That this meeting prays that Government looking to the special needs of the Depressed Classes, should make primary education both free and compulsory. That the meeting also requests the Government to give special facilities by way of scholarships to the students of the Depressed Classes".

"(7) That the meeting authorises the President to forward the above resolutions to the Viceroy and the Government of Bombay".

It is obvious that there is a close inter-connection between the resolution passed by the Depressed Classes at their meeting in Bombay under the Chairmanship of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and the Congress resolution of 1917 on the elevation of the Depressed Classes. This inter-connection will be easily understood by adverting to the political events of the year 1917. It will be recalled that it was in 1917 or to be precise, on the 20th August 1917 the late Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, announced in the House of Commons the new policy of His Majesty's Government towards India, namely, the policy of "gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire". Leading Indian politicians were expecting some such declaration of policy on the part of His Majesty's Government and were preparing schemes for changes in the constitutional structure of India in anticipation of such a policy. Of the many schemes that were formulated, there were two around which public attention was centred. One was called "the Scheme of the Nineteen". The second was called "the Congress-League Scheme". The first was put forth by 19 elected additional Members of the then Imperial Legislative Council. The second was an agreed scheme of political reforms supported by the Congress and the League otherwise known as the Lucknow Pact. Both these schemes had come into existence in 1916, a year before the announcement made by Mr. Montagu.

Of the two schemes, the Congress was interested in seeing that its own scheme was accepted by His Majesty's Government.

The Congress with that purpose in view was keen on giving the Congress League scheme the status and character of a National Demand. This could happen only if the scheme had the backing of all communities in India. In as much as the Muslim League had accepted the scheme, the problem of securing the backing of the Muslim Community did not arise. Next in numbers came the Depressed Classes. Though no as well organized as the Muslim, they were politically very conscious as their Resolutions show. Not only were they politically conscious but they were all along anti-Congress. Indeed in 1895 when Mr. Tilak's followers threatened to burn the Congress pandal if its use was allowed to Social Conference for ventilating social wrongs, the Untouchabes organized a demonstration against the Congress and actually burned its effigy. This antipaty to the Congress has continued ever since. The resolutions passed by both the meeting of the Depressed Classes held in Bombay in 1917 give ample testimony to the existence of this antipathy in the minds of the Depressed Classes towards the Congress. The Congress while anxious to get the support of the Depressed Classes to the Congress-League scheme of Reforms knew very well that it had no chance of getting it. As the Congress did not then practise-it had not learned it then-the art of corrupting people as it does now, it enlisted the services of the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, an Ex-President of the Congress. As the President of the Depressed Classes Mission Society he exercised considerable influence over the Depressed Classes. It was as a result of his influence and out of respect for him that a section of the Depressed Classes agreed to give support to the Congress-League Scheme.

The resolution as its text shows did not give unconditional support to the Congress-League scheme. It agreed to give support on the condition that the Congress passed a resolution for the removal of the social disabilities of the Untouchables. The Congress resolution was a fulfilment of its part of the contract with the Depressed Classes which was negotiated through Sir Narayan Chandavarkar.

This explains the genesis of the Congress Resolution of 1917 on the Depressed Classes and its inter-connection with the

Resolutions of the Depressed Classes passed under the Chairmanship of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. The explanation proves that there was an ulterior motive behind the Congress Resolution. That motive was not a spiritual motive. It was a political motive.

What happened to the Congress Resolution ? The Depressed Classes in their Resolution had called upon the "higher castes, who claim political rights, to take steps for the purpose of removing the blot of degradation from the Depressed Classes, which has subjected these classes to the worst of treatment in their own country". What did the Congress do to give effect to this demand of the Depressed Classes ? In return for the support it got, the Congress was bound to organize a drive against untouchability to give effect to the sentiments expressed in its Resolution. The Congress did nothing. The passing of the Resolution was a heartless transaction. It was a formal fulfilment of a condition which the Depressed Classes had made for giving their support to the Congress-League scheme. Congressmen did not appear to be charged with any qualms of conscience or with any sense of righteous indignation against men's inhumanity to man which is what untouchability is. They forgot the Resolution the very day on which it was passed. The Resolution was a dead letter. Nothing came out of it.

Thus ended the first chapter in the history of what the Congress has done to the Untouchables".

AMBEDKAR EMERGED

At this juncture of our history, when everywhere in India, the Untouchables were up in arms against untouchability and the unjust social order, the Congress was forced to pass a resolution in 1917, favourable to the untouchables. With the increasing awareness of the untouchables, the desire to rebel against age-old slavery was becoming apparent. Everywhere in India, they were becoming more and more assertive. With the passage of time the antagonism between the Depressed Classes and the High Caste Hindus was rapidly increasing.

During this very period, in 1919 Mr. Gandhi entered the Indian politics and almost immediately captured Congress. With the passing away of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the job of Mr. Gandhi became very easy. Uptill now the Congress was by by and large a Brahmin preserve. But with the emergence of Gandhiji, it became a huge Brahmin-Bania affair. With the Brahmin Brain and Bania Finance, it became a formidable force.

Looking at the rebelious mood and postures of the untouchables, he started creating illusions and rendering all sorts of advice to them. In his organ the Young India dated 20th October, 1920 he gave the following advice to the untouchables whom he named as the Panchamas at that time :—

"Then, there remains, finally, self-help and self-dependence. And herein comes the use of non-cooperation. Therefore, by way of protests against Hinduism, the Panchamas can stop all contact and connection with the other Hindus so long as the special grievances are maintained. But this means organised intelligent effort. And so far as I can see, there is no leader among the Panchamas who can lead them to victory through non-cooperation."

Yes, Gandhiji could not see a leader of this intelligence and calibre amongst the untouchables. But during that very period, addressing a conference of the untouchables. Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur introduced Dr. Ambedkar to them as their leader and saviour. Shahu Maharaj opined that Dr. Ambedkar would lead them out of age-old bondage, put an end to their sufferings and build a mission and movement for them. He, therefore, advised the untouchables to give a helping hand to Dr. Ambedkar while looking to him for help and guidance as their leader and saviour.

Today in retrospect, we can safely say that Gandhiji was ignorant about the developing strength of the untouchables, whereas Shahu Maharaj of Kohlapur, himself a non-Brahmin leader was not only aware of it, but was having the necessary vision to forecast the coming events correctly. At any rate, whether anybody could see it or not, Dr. Ambedkar had already emerged as a leader of the untouchables and was very busy in organising them for coming activities and actions. Like mr. Gandhiji he had also started his own organ "the Mook Nayak" to champion and captain the cause of the downtrodden and to speak for the dumb.

In the year of 1925 he started the Depressed Classes Institute. Through this organisation he launched many struggles. Through these struggles, he became the un-disputed leader of the untouchables and earned the right to represent them in the Round Table Conferences of 1930, 31. Ironically Gandhiji was to test the intelligence and calibre of the untouchable leadership during those Round Table Conferences and feel sure for himself that the necessary leadership has definitely emerged in the form and shape of Dr. Ambedkar.

Rest of the story of the competence and calibre of the leadership and relevant to this book can be told by the 2 Memorandums Dr. Ambedkar submitted during those 2 Round Table Conferences. Those 2 Memorandums are reproduced below :—

Text of the Memorandum

(Date : 12th November, 1930)

A Scheme of Political Safeguards for the Protection of the Depressed Classes in the Future Constitution of a self-governing India, submitted to the Indian Round Table Conference.

The following are the terms and conditions on which the Depressed Classes will consent to place themselves under a majority rule in a self-governing India.

Condition No. I

EQUAL CITIZENSHIP

The Depressed Classes cannot consent to subject themselves to majority rule in their present state of 'hereditary bondsmen. Before majority rule is established their emancipation from the system of untouchability must be an accomplished fact. It must not be left to the will of the majority. The Depressed Classes must be made free citizens entitled to all the right of citizenship in common with other citizens of the State.

(A) To secure the abolition of untouchability and to create the equality of citizenship, it is proposed that the following Fundamental right shall be made part of the constitution of India.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT

U.S.A. Constitution Amendment XIV and Government of Ireland Act 1920, 10 &11 Geo. V. Ch. 67 Sec. 5 (2)

"All subjects of the State in India are equal before the law and possess equal civic rights. Any existing enactment, regulation, order, custom, interpretation of law by which any penalty, disadvantage, disability is imposed upon or any discrimination is made against any subject of the State on account of untouchability shall, as from the day on which this Constitution comes into operation, cease to have any effect in India."

This is so in all Constitutions. See Prof. Keith's remarks in Cmd. 207, P. 56.

(B) To abolish the immunities and exemptions now enjoyed by executive officers by virtue of Sections 110 and 111 of the Government of India Act 1919 and their liability for executive action be made coextensive with what is in the case of a European British Subject."

Condition No. II

FREE ENJOYMENT OF EQUAL RIGHTS

It is no use for the Depressed Classes to have a declaration equal rights. There can be no doubt that the Depressed Classes will have to face the whole force of orthodox society if they try to exercise the equal rights of citizenship. The Depressed Classes therefore feel that if these declarations of rights are not to be mere pious pronouncements, but are to be realities of everyday life, then they should be protected by adequate pains and penalties from interference in the enjoyment of these declared rights.

(A) The Depressed Classes therefore propose that the following section should be added to part XI of the Government of India Act 1919, dealing with Offences, Procedure and Penalties:

(i) Offence of infringement of Citizenship.

U.S. Statutes At Large. Civil Rights Protection Acts of April 9, 1866, and of March, 1, 1875- Passed in the Interest of the Negroes after their emancipation.

"Whoever denies to any person except for reasons by law applicable to persons of all classes and regardless of any previous condition of untouchability the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, privileges of inns, educational institutions, roads, paths, streets, tanks, wells and other watering places, public conveyances on land, air or water, theatres or other places of public amusement, resort or convenience whether they are dedicated to or maintained or licensed for the use of the public shall be punished or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years and shall also be liable to fine."

(B) Obstruction by orthodox individuals is not the only men ace to the Depressed Classes in the way of peaceful enjoyment of their rights. The commonest form of obstruction is the social boycott. It is the most formidable weapon in the hands of the orthodox classes with which they beat down any attempt on the part of the Depressed Classes to undertake any activity if it happens to be unpalatable to them. The way it works and the occasions on which it is brought into operation are well described in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay in 1928 "to enquire into the educational, economic and social condition of the Depressed Classes (untouchables) and of the Aboriginal Tribes in the presidency and to recommend measures for their uplift."

The following is an extract from the same :-

Depressed Classes and Social Boycott

"102. Although we have recommended various remedies to secure to the Depressed Classes their rights to all public utilities we fear that there will be difficulties in the way of their exercising them for a long time to come. The first difficulty is the fear of open violence against them by the orthodox classes. It must be noted that the Depressed Classes form a small minority in every village, opposed to which is a great majority of the orthodox who are bent on protecting their interests and dignity from any supposed invasion by the Depressed Classes at any cost. The danger of prosecution by the police has put a limitation upon the use of violence by the orthodox classes and consequently such cases are rare.

"The second difficulty arises from the economic position in which the Depressed Classes are found today. The Depressed Classes have no economic independence in most parts of the Presidency. Some cultivate the lands of the orthodox classes as their tenants at will. Others live on their earnings as farm labourers employed by the orthodox classes and the rest subsist on the food or grain given to them as village servants. We have heard of numerous instances where the orthodox classes have used their economic power as a weapon against those Depressed Classes in their villages, when the latter have dared to exercise

their rights, and have evicted them from their land, and stopped their employment and discontinued their remuneration as village servants. This boycott is often planned on such an extensive scale as to include the prevention of the Depressed Classes from using the commonly used paths and the stoppage of sale of the necessaries of life by the village Bania. According to the evidence sometimes small causes suffice for the proclamation of a social boycott against the Depressed Clasees. Frequently it follows on the exercise by the Depressed Classes of their right to the use of the common-well, but cases have been by no means rare where a stringent boycott has been proclaimed simply because a Depressed Class man has put on the sacred thread, has bought a piece of land, has put on good clothes or ornaments, or has carried a marriage procession with the bridegroom on the horse through the public street.

"We do not know of any weapon more effective than this sion boycott which could have been invented for the suppressocial of the Depressed Classes. The method of open violence pales away before it, for it has the most far reaching and deadening effects. It is the the more dangerous because is passes as a lawful method consistent with the theory of freedom of contract. We agree that this tyranny of the majority must be put down with a firm hand, if we are to guarantee the Depressed Classes the freedom of speech and action necessary for their uplift."

In the opinion of the Depressed Classes the only way to overcome this kind of menace to their rights and liberties is to make social boycott an offence punishable by law. They are therefore bound to insist that the following sections should be added to those included in part XI, of the Government of India Act 1919, dealing with offences, procedure and penalties.

1. OFFENCE OF BOYCOTT DEFINED

(i) A person shall be deemed to boycott another who :-

This and the following legal provisions are bodily taken from Burma Anti-Boycott Act, 1922

(a) refuses to let or use or occupy any house or land, or to deal with, work for hire, or do business with another person, or to render to him or receive from him any service, or refuses to do any of the said things on the terms on which such things should commonly

with a few changes be done in the ordinary course of business, *to suit the neces-* or
sites of the case.

(b) abstains from such social, professional or business relations as he would, having regard to such existing customs in the community which are not inconsistent with any fundamental right or other rights of citizenship declared in the Constitution ordinarily maintain with such person, or

(c) in any way injures, annoys or interferes with such other person in the exercise of his lawful rights.

II. PUNISHMENT FOR BOYCOTTING

Whoever, in consequence of any person having done any act which he was legally entitled to do or of his having omitted to do any act which he was legally entitled to omit to do, or with intent to cause any person to do any act which he is not legally bound to do or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do, or with intent to cause harm to such person in body, mind, reputation or property, or in his business or means of living, boycotts such person or any person in whom such person is interested, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description which may extend to seven years or with fine or with both.

Provided that no offence shall be deemed to have been committed under this section, if the Court is satisfied that the accused person has not acted at the instigation of or in collusion with any other person or in pursuance of any conspiracy or of any agreement or combination to boycott.

III. PUNISHMENT FOR INSTIGATING OR PROMOTING A BOYCOTT

Whoever-

(a) publicly makes or publishes or circulates a proposal for, or

(b) makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report with intent to, or which he has reason to believe to be likely to, cause or

(c) in any other was instigates or promotes the boycotting of any person or class of persons, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to five years, or with fine or with both.

Explanation-An offence under this section shall be deemed to have been committed although the person affected or likely to be affected by any action of the nature referred to herein is not designated by name or class but only by his acting or abstaining from acting in some specified manner,

IV. PUNISHMENT FOR THREATENING A BOYCOTT

Whoever, in consequence of any person having done any act which he was legally entitlend to do or of his having omitted to do any act which he was legally entitled to omit to do, or with intent to cause any person to do any act which he is not legally bound to do, or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do, threatens to cause such person or any person in whom such person is interested, to be boycotted shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years or with fine or with both.

Exception-It is not boycott

(i) to do any act in furtherance of a bona fide labour dispute.

(ii) to do any act in the ordinary course of business competition.

N.B.-All these offences shall be deemed to be cognizable offences.

Condition No. III

PROTECTION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

The Depressed Classes entertain grave fears of discrimination either by legislation or by executive order being made in the future. They cannot therefore consent to subject themselves to majority rule unless it is rendered impossible in law for the legislature or the executive to make any invidious discrimination against the Depressed Classes.

It is therefore proposed that the following Statutory provision be made in the constitutional law of India :-

"It shall not be competent for any Legislature or executive in India to pass a law or issue an order, rule or regulation so as to violate the rights of the Subjects of the State, regardless of any previous condition of untouchability, in all territories subject to the jurisdiction of the dominion of India.

(1) to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property,

(2) to be eligible for entry into the civil and military employ and to all educational institutions except for such conditions and limitations as may be necessary to provide for the due and adequate representation of all classes of subjects of the States,

(3) to be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, educational, institutions, privileges of inns, rivers, streams, wells, tanks, roads, paths, streets, public conveyances on land, air and water, theatres, and other, places of public resort or amusement except for such conditions and limitations applicable alike to all subjects of every race, class, caste, colour, or creed,

(4) to be deemed fit for and capable of sharing without distinction the benefits of any religious or charitable trust dedicated to or created, maintained or licensed for the general public or for persons of the same faith and religion,

(5) to claim full and equal benefits of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by other subject regardless of any previous condition of untouchability and be subject to like punishment, pains and penalties and to none other.

Condition No. IV

ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGISLATURES

The Depressed Classes must be given sufficient political power to influence legislative and executive action for the purpose

of securing their welfare. In view of this they demand that the following provisions shall be made in the electoral law so as to give them.

(1) Right to adequate representation in the Legislatures of the Country, Provincial and Central.

(2) Right to elect their own men as their representatives,

(a) by adult suffrage, and

(b) by separate electorates for the first ten years and thereafter by joint electorates and reserved seats, it being understood that joint electorates shall not be forced upon the Depressed Classes against their will unless such joint electorates are accompanied by adult suffrage.

N.B. Adequate Representation for the Depressed Classes cannot be defined in quantitative terms until the extent of representation allowed to other communities is known. But it must be understood that the Depressed Classes will not consent to the representation of any other community being settled on better terms than those allowed to them. They will not agree to being placed at a disadvantage in this matter. In any case the Depressed Classes of Bombay and Madras must have weightage over their population ratio of representation, irrespective of the extent of representation allowed to other minorities in the provinces.

Condition No. V

ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION IN THE SERVICES

The Depressed Classes have suffered enormously at the hands of the high caste officers who have monopolized the Public Services by abusing the law or by misusing the discretion vested in them in administering it to the prejudice of the Depressed Classes and to the advantage of the Caste Hindus without any regard to justice, equity or good conscience. This mischief can only be avoided by destroying the monopoly of caste Hindus in the Public Services and by regulating the requirement to them in such a manner that all communities including the Depressed will have an adequate share in them. For this purpose the

Depressed Classes have to make the following proposals for statutory enactment as part of the constitutional Law :-

(1) There shall be established in India and in each province in India a Public Service Commission to undertake the recruitment and control of the Public Services.

(2) No member of the Public Service Commission shall be removed except by a resolution passed by the Legislature nor shall he be appointed to any office under the Crown after his retirement.

(3) It shall be the duty of the Public Service Commission subject to the tests of efficiency as may be prescribed :

(a) to recruit the Services in such a manner as will secure due and adequate representation of all communities, and

(b) to regulate from time to time priority in employment in accordance with the existing extent of the representation of the various communities in any particular service concerned.

Condition No. VI

REDRESS AGAINST PREJUDICIAL ACTION OR NEGLECT OF INTERESTS

In view of the fact that the Majority Rule of the future will be the rule of the orthodox, the Depressed Classes fear that such a Majority Rule will not be sympathetic to them and that the probability of prejudice to their interests and neglect of their vital needs cannot be overlooked. It must be provided against, particularly, because, however, adequately representated the Depressed Classes will be in a minority in all legislatures. The Depressed Classes think it very necessary that they should have the means of redress given to them in the constitution. It is therefore proposed that the following provision should be made in the constitution of India:-

"In and for each province and in and for India it shall be the duty and obligation of the Legislature and the Executive or any other Authority established by law to make adequate provision for the education, sanitation, recruitment in Public Services and other matters of social and political advancement of the Depressed Classes and to do nothing that will prejudicially affect them.

British North America Act, 1867, Sec. 93

"(2) Where in any Province or in India the provisions of this section are violated an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of any Provincial Authority and to the Secretary of State from any act on decision of a General Authority affecting the matter.

"(3) In every such case where it appears to the Governor-General in Council or to the Secretary of State that the Provincial Authority or Central Authority does not take steps requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this Section then and in every such case, and as for only as the circumstances of each case require the Governor-General in council or the Secretary of State acting as an appellate authority may prescribe, for such period as they may deem fit, take remedial measures for the due execution of the provisions of this Section and of any of its decisions under this Section and which shall be binding upon the authority appealed against."

Condition No. VII

SPECIAL DEPARTMENTAL CARE

The helpless, hapless and sapless condition of the Depressed Classes must be entirely attributed to the dogged and determined opposition of the whole mass of the orthodox population which will not allow the Depressed Classes to have equality of status or equality of treatment. It is not enough to say of their economic condition that they are poverty-stricken or that they are a class of landless labourers, although both these statements are statements of fact. It has to be noted that the poverty of the Depres-

sed Classes is due largely to the social prejudices in consequence of which many an occupation for earning a living is closed to them. This is a fact which differentiates the position of the Depressed Classes from that of the ordinary caste labourer and is often a source of trouble between the two. It has also to be borne in mind that the forms of tyranny and oppression practised against the Depressed Classes are very various and the capacity of the Depressed Classes to protect themselves is extremely limited. The facts, which obtain in this connection and which are of common occurrence throughout India, are well described in the Abstracts of Proceedings of the Board of Revenue of the Government of Madras dated 5th Nov., 1892 No. 723, from which the following is an extract :-

"134. There are forms of oppression only hitherto hinted at which must be at least cursorily mentioned. To punish disobedience of Pariahs, their masters-

(a) Bring false cases in the village court or in the criminal courts.

(b) Obtain, on application, from Government waste lands lying all round the paracheri so as to impound the Pariahs' cattle or obstruct the way to their temple.

(c) Have mirasi names fraudulently entered in the Government account against the paracheri.

(d) Pull down the huts and destroy the growth in the backyards.

(e) Deny occupancy right in immemorial sub-tenancies.

(f) Forcibly cut the Pariahs' crops, and on being resisted, charge them with theft and rioting.

(g) Under misrepresentations, get them to execute documents by which they are afterwards ruined.

(h) Cut off the flow of water from their fields.

(i) Without legal notice, have the property of sub-tenants attached for the land-lords' arrears of revenue.

"135. It will be said there are civil and criminal courts for the redress of any of these injuries. There are the courts indeed; but India does not breed village Hampdens. One must have courage to go to the courts; money to employ legal knowledge,

and meet legal expenses; and means to live during the case and the appeals. Further, most cases depend upon the decision of the first court ; and these courts are presided over by officials who are sometimes corrupt and who generally, for other reasons, sympathize with the wealthy and landed classes to which they belong.

"136. The influence of these classes with the official world can hardly be exaggerated. It is extreme with natives and great even with Europeans. Every office, from the highest to the lowest, is stocked with their representatives, and there is no proposal affecting their interests but they can bring a score of influence to bear upon it in its course from inception to execution."

There can be no doubt that in view of these circumstances the uplift of the Depressed Classes will remain a pious hope unless the task is placed in the forefront of all governmental activities and unless equalization of opportunities is realized in practice by a definine policy and determined effort on the part of Government. To secure this end the proposal of the Depressed Classes is that the Constitutional Law should impose upon the Government of India a statutory obligation to maintain at all times a department to deal with their problems by the addition of a section in the Government of India Act to the following effect :—

"1. Simultaneously with the introduction of this Constitution and as part thereof, there shall be created in the Government of India a Department to be in charge of a Minister for the purpose of watching the interests of the Depressed Classes and promoting their welfare.

"2. The Minister shall hold office so long as he retains the confidence of the Central Legislature.

"3. It shall be the duty of the Minister in the exercise of any powers and duties conferred upon him or transferred to him by law, to take all such steps as may be desirable to secure the preparation, effective carrying out and co-ordination of measures preventative of acts of social injustice, tyranny or oppression against the Depressed Classes and conducive to their welfare throughout India.

"4. It shall be lawful for the Governor-General—

(a) to transfer to the Minister all or any powers or duties in respect of the welfare of the Depressed Classes arising from any enactment relating to education, sanitation, etc.

(b) to appoint Depressed Classes welfare bureaus in each province to work under the authority of and in co-operation with the Minister."

Condition No. VIII

DEPRESSED CLASSES AND THE CABINET

Just as it is necessary that the Depressed Classes should have the power to influence governmental action by seats in the Legislature so also it is desirable that the Depressed Classes should have the opportunity to frame the general policy of the Government. This they can do only if they can find a seat in the Cabinet. The Depressed Classes therefore claim that in common with other minorities, their moral rights to be represented in the Cabinet should be recognized. With this purpose in view the Depressed Classes propose :

that in the Instrument of Instructions an obligation shall be placed upon the Governor and the Governor-General to endeavour to secure the representation of the Depressed Classes in his Cabinet.

Text of the Supplementary Memorandum

(Dated: November 4, 1931)

POLITICAL SAFEGUARDS FOR DEPRESSED CLASSES

(Supplementary Memorandum on the claims of the Depressed Classes for Special Representation, submitted to the R.T.C. by Dr. Bhimrao R. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan).

In the memorandum that was submitted by us last year dealing with the question of political safeguards for the protection of the Depressed Classes in the constitution for a self-governing

India, and which forms Appendix III to the printed volume of Proceedings of the Minorities Sub-Committee, we had demanded that special representation of the Depressed Classes must form one of such safeguards. But we did not then define the details of the special representation we claimed as being necessary for them. The reason was that the proceeding of the Minorities Sub-Committee came to an end before the question was reached. We now propose to make good the omission by this supplementary memorandum so that the Minorities Sub-Committee, if it comes to consider the question this year, should have the requisite details before it.

(1) EXTENT OF SPECIAL REPRESENTATION

A. Special Representation in Provincial Legislatures.

(i) In Bengal, Central Provinces, Assam, Bihar and Orissa, Punjab and the United Provinces the Depressed Classes shall have representation in proportion to their population as estimated by the Simon Commission and the Indian Central Committee.

(ii) In Madras, the Depressed Classes shall have twenty-two per cent representation.

(iii) In Bombay

(a) In the event of Sind continuing to be a part of the Bombay Presidency, the Depressed Classes shall have sixteen per cent representation,

(b) in the event of Sind being separated from the Bombay Presidency the Depressed Classes shall enjoy th e same degree of representation as the Presidency Muslims, both being equal in population.

B. Special Representation in the Federal Legislature.

In Both Houses of the Federal Legislature, the Depressed Classes shall have representation in proportion to their population in India.

RESERVATIONS

We have fixed this proportion of representation in the Legislatures on the following assumptions :-

(1) We have assumed that the figures for the population of the Depressed Classes given by the Simon Commission (Vol. I, p. 40) and the Indian Central Committee (Report p.44) will be acceptable as sufficiently correct to form a basis for distributing seats.

(2) We have assumed that the Federal Legislature will comprise the whole of India, in which case the population of the Depressed Classes in Indian States, in Centrally Administered Areas, and in Excluded Territories, besides their population in Governor's provinces, will form very properly an additional item in calculating the extent of representation of the Depressed Classes in the Federal Legislature.

(3) We have assumed that the administrative areas of the provinces of British India will continue to be what they are present.

But if the assumptions regarding figures of population are challenged, as some interested parties threaten to do, and if under a new census the Depressed Classes show a lower proportion, or if the administrative areas of the provinces are altered, resulting in disturbing the existing balance of population, the Depressed Classes reserve their right to revise their proportion of representation and even to claim weightage. In the same way, if the All India Federation does not come into being, they will be willing to submit to readjustment in their proportion of representation calculated on that basis in the Federal Legislature.

(2) METHOD OF REPRESENTATION

1. The Depressed Classes shall have the right to elect their representatives to the Provincial and Central Legislature through separate electorates of their voters.

For their representation in the Upper House of the Federal or Central Legislature, if it is decided to have indirect election by members of the Provincial Legislatures, the Depressed Classes will agree to abandon their right to separate electorates so far as their representation to the Upper House is concerned subject to this : that in any system of proportional representation arrangement shall be made to guarantee to them their quota of seats.

2. Separate electorates for the Depressed Classes shall not be liable to be replaced by a system of joint electorates and reserved seats, except when the following conditions are fulfilled:-

(a) A referendum of the voters held at the demand of a majority of their representatives in the Legislatures concerned and resulting in an absolute majority of the members of the Depressed Class having the franchise.

(b) No such referendum shall be resorted to untill after twenty years and untill universal adult suffrage has been established.

3. NECESSITY OF DEFINING THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

The representation of the Depressed Classes has been grossly abused in the past inamuch as persons other than the Depressed Classes were nominated to represent them in the Provincial Legislatures, and cases are not wanting in which persons not belonging to the Depressed Classes got themselves nominated as representives of the Depressed Classes. This abuse was due to the fact that while the Governor was given the power to nominate persons to represent the Depressed Classes, he was not required to confine his nomination to persons belonging to the Depressed Classes. Since nomination is to be substituted by election under the new constitution, there will be no room for this abuse. But in order to leave no loophole for defeating the purpose of their special representation we claim:

(i) That the Depressed Classes shall not only have the right to their own separate electorates, but they shall also have the right to be represented by their own men.

(ii) That in each Province the Depressed Classes shall be strictly defined as meaning persons belonging to communities which are subjected to the system of Untouchability of the sort prevalent therein and which are enumerated by name in a schedule prepared for electoral purposes.

(4) NOMENCLATURE

In dealing with this part of the question we would like to point out that the existing nomenclature of Depressed Classes is objected to by members of the Depressed Classes who have given thought to it and also by outsiders who take interest in them. It is degrading and contemptuous, and advantage may be taken of this occasion for drafting the new constitution to alter for official purpose the existing nomenclature. We think that they should be called "Non-Caste Hindus," "Protestant Hindus," or "Non-Conformist Hindus," or some such designation, instead of "Depressed Classes" : We have no authority to press for any particular nomenclature. We can only suggest them, and we believe that if properly explained the Depressed Classes will not hesitate to accept the one most suitable for them.

We have received a large number of telegrams from the Depressed Classes all over India supporting the demands contained in this Memorandum.

THE COMMUNAL AWARD

Grant of separate electorate

Dr. Ambedkar pleaded the case of the untouchables as forcefully that the problem of the untouchables loomed large at the Round Table Conferences. He demanded that the untouchables be given the means to protect themselves by extending to them the principle of Communal representation. He demanded the same rights as were to be given to other minorities. He argued that since power was being transferred into the hands of the the High Caste Hindus, the untouchables must have political safeguards of the same sort as, if not better than, those conceded to the Muslims and other minorities. His contention was supported by all, except Gandhiji and Congress.

During the Round Table Conference debates, Gandhiji was vehemently against recognition and safeguards for the untouchables. He wanted to keep them in the condition of utter helplessness, without rights and without recognition. Finally, his objection came down only to the untouchables. Instead of showing sympathy, Gandhiji used every means in his power to defeat them. He made a pact with the Muslims with a view to isolate the untouchables. But fortunately the Muslims did not oblige him.

After the 2nd Round Table Conference in England, Gandhiji threatened to revive his campaign of Civil disobedience. He was arrested and lodged in Yervada Jail. In jail, not Swarajya but the Untouchable problem perturbed him most. He feared that the British Prime Minister as a sole arbitrator might accept the demands of the untouchables made at the Round Table Conferences. Therefore, in anticipation, on 11th March, 1932, he addressed from jail a letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, the then secretary of State for India, reminding him of his opposition to the claims of the untouchables. Sir Samuel Hoare replied on April 13, 1932.

On the 17 August, 1932 the Communal Award was announced. The Award conceded the demands of the untouchables. They were granted Separate Electorate. Gandhiji objected to it and addressed a letter to the Prime Minister, threatening fast, if the safeguards for the untouchables were not withdrawn. The British Prime Minister gave most convincing reply. Ignoring the Prime Minister's reply Gandhiji announced 20th September, the date of his fast till death.

To illustrate the entire episode, the grant of separate electorate through the Communal Award which led to Gandhiji's fast, the entire correspondence is most relevant. It is therefore given below :

The following is the text of the Gandhiji's letter from Yervada jail :

Dear Sir Samuel,

You will perhaps recollect that at the end of my speech at the Round Table Conference when the Minorities claim was presented, I had said that I should resist with my life the grant of separate electorates to the Depressed Classes. This was not said in the heat of the moment nor by way of rhetoric. It was meant to be a serious statement. In pursuance of that statement, I had hoped on my return to India to mobilize public opinion against separate electorates, at any rate, for the Depressed Classes. But it was not to be.

"From the newspaper I am permitted to read, I observe that any moment His Majesty's Government may declare their decision. At first I had thought, if the decision was found to create separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, I should take such steps as I might then consider necessary to give effect to my vow. But I feel it would be unfair to the British Government for me to act without giving previous notice. Naturally, they could not attach the significance I give to my statement.

"I need hardly reiterate all the objections I have to the creation of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. I feel as if I was one of them. Their case stands on a wholly different

footing from that of others. I am not against their representation in the legislatures. I should favour everyone of their adults, male and female, being registered as voters irrespective of education or property qualification, even though the franchise test may be stricter for others. But I hold that separate electorate is harmful for them and for Hinduism, whatever it may be from the purely political standpoint. To appreciate the harm that separate electorate would do them, one has to know how they are distributed amongst the so-called Caste Hindus and how dependent they are on the latter. So far as Hinduism is concerned, separate electorates would simply vivisect and disrupt it.

"For me the question of these classes is predominantly moral and religious. The political aspect, important though it is, dwindles into insignificance compared to the moral and religious issue.

"You will have to appreciate my feelings in this matter by remembering that I have been interested in the condition of these classes from my boyhood and have more than once staked my all for their sake. I say this not to pride myself in any way. For, I feel that no penance that the Hindus may do, can in any way compensate for the calculated degradation to which they have consigned the Depressed Classes for centuries.

"But I know that separate electorate is neither a penance nor any remedy for the crushing degradation they have groaned under. I, therefore, respectfully inform His Majesty's Government that in the event of their decision creating separate electorate for the Depressed Classes, I must fast unto death.

"I am painfully conscious of the fact that such a step, whilst I am a prisoner, must cause grave embarrassment to His Majesty's Government, and that it will be regarded by many as highly improper on the part of one holding my position to introduce into the political field methods which they would describe as hysterical if not much worse. All I can urge in defence is that for me the contemplated step is not a method, it is part of my being. It is the call of conscience which I dare not disobey, even though it may cost whatever reputation for sanity I may possess. So far as I can see now my discharge from imprisonment would

not make the duty of fasting any the less imperative. I am hoping, however, all my fears are wholly unjustified and the British Government have no intention whatever of creating separate electorate for the Depressed Classes."

The following reply was sent to Mr Gandhi by the Secretary of State :-

India Office, Whitehall,
April 13, 1932.

"Dear Mr. Gandhi,

"I write this in answer to your letter of 11th March and I say at once I realize fully the strength of your feeling upon the question of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. I can only say that we intend to give any decision that may be necessary solely and only upon the merits of the case. As you are aware, Lord Lothian's Committee has not yet completed its tour and it must be some weeks before we can receive any conclusion at which it may have arrived. When we recieve that report we shall have to give most careful consideration to its recommendations, and we shall not give a decision until we have taken into account, in addition to the view expresed by the Committee the view that you and those who think with you have so forcibly expressed. I feel sure if you were in our position you would be taking exactly the same action we intend to take. You would admit the Committee's report, you would then give it your fullest consideration, and before arriving at a final decision you would take into account the view that have been expressed on both sides of the controversy. More than this I cannot say. Indeed I do not imagine you would expect me to say more."

After giving this warning, Mr. Gandhi slept over the matter thinking that a repetition of his threat to fast unto death was sufficient to paralyse the British Government and prevent them from accepting the claim of the Untouchables for special representation. On the 17th August, 1932, the decision of the Prime Minister on the communal question was announced.

That part of the decision which relates to the Untouchables is produced below :-

"In the statement made by the Prime Minister on 1st December last on behalf of His Majesty's Government at the close of the second session of the Round Table Conference which was immediately afterwards endorsed by both Houses of Parliament, it was made plain that if the communities in India were unable to reach a settlement acceptable to all parties on the communal questions which the Conference had failed to solve, His Majesty's Government were determined that India's constitutional advance should not on that account be frustrated, and that they would remove this obstacle by devising and applying themselves a provisional scheme.

2. On the 19th March last His Majesty's Government, having been informed that the continued failure of the communities to reach agreement was blocking the progress of the plans for the framing of a new Constitution stated that they were engaged upon careful re-examination of the difficulty and controversial question which arised. They are now satisfied that without a decision of at least some aspects of the problems connected with the position of minorities under the new Constitution no further progress can be made with the framing of the constitution.

3. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided that they will include provisions to give effect to the scheme set out below in the proposals relating to the Indian Constitution to be laid in due course before Parliament. The scope of this scheme is purposely confined to the arrangement to be made for the representation of the British Indian communities in the Provincial Legislature, consideration of representation in the legislature at the Centre being deferred for the reason given in paragraph 20 below. The decision to limit the scope of the scheme implies no failure to realize that the framing of the Constitution will necessitate the decision of number of other problems of great importance to minorities, but has been taken in the hope that once a pronouncement has been made upon the basic question of method and proportions of representation the communities themselves may find possible to arrive at *modus vivendi* on other

communal problems which have not received the examination they require.

4. His Majesty's Government wish it to be most clearly understood that they themselves can be no parties to any negotiations which may be initiated with a view to the revision of their decision, and will not be prepared to give consideration in any representation aimed at securing the modification of it which is not supported by all the parties affected. But they are most desirous to close no door to an agreed settlement should such happily be forthcoming. If, therefore, before a new Government of India Act was passed into law, they are satisfied that communities who are concerned are mutually agreed upon a practicable alternative scheme, either in respect of any one or more of the Governor's Provinces or in respect of the whole of the British India, they will be prepared to recommend to Parliament that alternative should be substituted for the provisions now outlined.

5. ... ...
6. ... ...
7. ... ...
8. ... ...

9. Members of the "depressed classes" qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely, by this means alone, to secure any adequate representation in the Legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in the table. These seats will be filled by election from special contituencies in which only members of the "depressed classes" electorally qualified will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such a special constituency will, as stated above, be also entitled in a general constituency. It is intended that these constituencies should be formed in selected areas where the depressed classes are most numerous and that, except in Madras, they should not cover the whole area of the Province.

In Bengal it seems possible that in some general constituencies a majority of the voters will belong to the Depressed

Classes. Accordingly, pending further investigation, no number has been fixed for the members to be returned from the special Depressed Classes constituencies in that Province. It is intended to secure that the Depressed Classes should obtain not less than 10 seats in the Bengal Legislature.

The precise definition in each Province of those who (if electorally qualified) will be entitled to vote in the special Depressed Class constituencies has not yet been finally determined. It will be based as a rule on the general principles advocated in the Franchise Committee's Report. Modification may, however, be found necessary in some Province in Northern India where the application of the general criteria of untouchability might result in a definition unsuitable in some respects to the special conditions of the Province.

His Majesty's Government do not consider that these special Depressed Classes constituencies will be required for more than limited time. They intend that the Constitution shall provide that they shall come at an end after 20 years if they have not previously been abolished under the general powers of electoral prosion as referred to earlier.

Mr. Gandhi found that this threat had failed to have any effect. He did not care that he was a signatory to the requisition asking the Prime Minister to arbitrate. He forgot that as a signatory to the requisition he was bound to accept the award. He started to undo what the Prime Minister had done. He first tried to get the terms of the Communal Award revised. Accordingly he addressed the following letter to the Prime Minister :—

"Yervada Central Prison,
August 18, 1932.

Dear Friend,

There can be no doubt that Sir Samuel Hoare has showed you and the Cabinet my letter to him of 11th March on the question of the Depressed Classes. That letter should be treated as part of this letter and be read together with this.

I have read the British Government's decision on the representation of minorities and have slept over it. In pursuance of my

declaration at the meeting of the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference on 13th November, 1931, at St. Jame's Palace, I have to resist your decision with my life. The only way I can do so is by declaring a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind save water with or without salt and soda. This fast will cease if during its progress the British Government, of its own motion or under pressure of public opinion, revise their decision and withdraw their scheme of communal electorates for the Depressed Classes, whose representatives should be elected by the general electorate under the common franchise, no matter how wide it is.

The proposed fast will come into operation in the ordinary course from the noon of 20th September next, unless the said decision is meanwhile revised in the manner suggested above.

I am asking the authorities here to cable the text of this letter to you so as to give you ample notice. But in any case, I am leaving sufficient time for this letter to reach you in time by the slowest route.

I also ask that this letter to Sir Samuel Hoare already referred to, be published at the earliest possible moment. On my part, I have scrupulously observed the rule of the jail and have communicated my desire or the contents of the letters to no one, save my two companions, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Mahadev Deasi. But I want, if you make it possible, public opinion to be affected by my letters. Hence my request for their early publication.

I regret the decision I have taken. But as a man of religion that I hold myself to be, I have no other course left open to me. As I have said in my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, even if His Majesty's Government decided to release me in order to save themselves from embarrassment, my fast will have to continue. For, I cannot now hope to resist the decision by any other means; and I have no desire whatsoever to compass my release by any means other than honourable.

It may be that my judgment is warped and that I am wholly in error in regarding separate electorates for the Depressed Classes as harmful to them or to Hinduism. If so, I am not

likely to be in the right with reference to other parts of my philosophy of life. In that case my death by fasting will be at once a penance for my error and a lifting of weight from off these numberless men and women who have childike faith in my wisdom. Whereas if my judgment is right, as I have little doubt it is, the contemplated step is but due to the fulfilment of the scheme of life which I have tried for more than a quarter of a century, apparently not without considerable success.

I remain,
Your faithful friend,
M.K. Gandhi

The Prime Minister replied as under :—

"80 Downing Street,
September 8, 1932.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have received your letter with much surprise and let me add, with very sincere regret. However, I cannot help thinking that you have written it under a misunderstanding as to what the decision of His Majesty's Government as regards the Depressed Classes really implies. We have always understood you were irrevocably opposed the permanent segregation of the Depressed Classes from the Hindu community. You made your position very clear on the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference and you expressed it again in the letter you wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare on 11th March. We also knew your view was shared by the great body of Hindu opinion, and we, therefore, took it into most careful account when we were considering the question of representation of the Depressed Classes.

Whilst, in view of the numerous appeals we have received from Depressed Class Organisations and the generally admitted social disabilities under which they labour and which you have often recognized, we felt it our duty to safeguard what we believe to be the right of the Depressed Classes to a fair proportion of representation in the legislatures, we were equally careful to do nothing that would split off their community from the Hindu world. You yourself stated in your letter of March 11, that you were not against their representation in the legislatures.

Under the Government scheme the Depressed Classes will remain part of the Hindu community and will vote with the Hindu electorate on an equal footing but for the first twenty years, while still remaining electorally part of the Hindu community they will receive through a limited number of special constituencies, means of safeguarding their rights and interests that, we are convinced is necessary under present conditions.

Where these constituencies are created, members of the Depressed Classes will not be deprived of their votes in the general Hindu constituencies, but will have two votes in order that their membership of the Hindu community should remain unimpaired.

We have deliberately decided against the creation of what you describe as a communal electorate for the Depressed Classes and included all Depressed Class voters in the general or Hindu constituencies so that the higher caste candidates should have to solicit their votes or Depressed Class candidates should have to solicit the votes of the higher castes at elections. Thus, in every way was the unity of Hindu society preserved.

We felt, however, that during the early period of responsible Government, when power in the provinces would pass to whoever possessed a majority in the legislatures, it was essential that the Depressed Classes whom you have yourself described in your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare as having been consigned by Caste Hindus to calculated degradation for centuries, should return a certain number of members of their own choosing to legislatures of seven of the nine provinces to voice their grievances and their ideals and prevent decisions going against them without the legislature and the Government listening to their case in a word, to place them in a position to speak for themselves, which fair minded person must agree to be necessary. We did not consider the method of electing special representatives by reservation of seats in the existing conditions, under any system of franchise which is practicable, members who could genuinely represent them and be responsible for them, because in practically all cases, such members would be electeed by a majority consisting of higher Caste Hindus.

The special advantage initially given under our scheme to the Depressed Classes by means of a limited number of special constituencies, in addition to their normal electoral rights in the general Hindu constituencies, is wholly different in conception and effect from the method of representation adopted for a minority such as the Muslims by means of separate communal electorates. For example, a Muslim cannot vote or be a candidate in a general constituency, whereas any electorally qualified member of the Depressed Classes can vote in and stand for the general constituency.

The number of territorial seats allotted to Muslims is naturally conditioned by the fact that it is impossible for them to gain any further territorial seats and in most provinces they enjoy weightage in excess of their population ratio ; the number of special seats to be filled from special Depressed Classes constituencies will be seen to be small and has been fixed not to provide a quota numerically appropriate for the total representation of the whole of the Depressed Class population, but solely to secure a minimum number of spokesmen for the Depressed Classes in the legislatures who are chosen exclusively by the Depressed Classes. The proportion of their special seats is everywhere much below the population percentage of the Depressed Classes.

As I understand your attitude, you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death not in order to secure that the Depressed Classes should have joint electorate with other Hindus, because that is already provided, nor to maintain the unity of Hindus, which also provided, but solely to prevent the Depressed Classes, who admittedly suffer from terrible disabilities from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in the legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future.

In the light of these very fair and cautious proposals, I am quite unable to understand the reason of the decision you have taken and can only think you have made it under a misapprehension of the actual facts.

In response to a very general request from Indians after they had failed to produce a settlement themselves the Government much against its will, undertook to give a decision on the minorities question. They have now given it, and they cannot be expected to alter except on the condition they have stated. I am afraid, therefore, that my answer to you must be that the Government's decision stands and that only agreement of the communities themselves can substitute other electoral arrangements for those that Government have devised in a sincere endeavour to weigh the conflicting claims on their just merits.

You ask that this correspondence, including your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare of March 11th, should be published. As it would seem to me unfair if your present internment were to deprive you of the opportunity of explaining to the public and reason why you intend to fast, I readily accede to the request, if on reconsideration you repeat it. Let me, however, once again urge you to consider the actual details of Government's decision and ask yourself seriously the question whether it really justifies you in taking the action you contemplate.

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
J. Ramsay Mac Donald."

Finding that the Prime Minister would not yield he sent him the following letter informing him that he was determined to carry out his threat of fast unto death :—

"Yervada Central Prison
September 9th, 1932.

Dear Friend,

I have to thank you for your frank and full letter telegraphed and received this day. I am sorry, however, that you put upon the contemplated step an interpretation that never crossed my mind. I have claimed to speak on behalf of the very class, to sacrifice whose interests you impute to me a desire to fast myself to death. I had hoped that the extreme step itself would effectively prevent any such selfish interpretation. Without arguing, I affirm that for me this matter is one of pure religion. The

mere fact of the Depressed Classes having double votes does not protect them or Hindu society, in general from being disrupted. In the establishment of separate electorate at all for the Depressed Classes I sense the injection of poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and do no good whatever to the Depreseed Classes. You will please permit me to say that no matter how sympathetic you may be, you cannot come to a correct decision on a matter of such vital and religious importance to the parties concerned.

I should not be against even over-representation of Depressed Classes. What I am against is their statutory separation even in a limited form from the Hindu fold, so long as they choose to belong to it. Do you realise that if your decision stands and the constitution comes into being, you arrest the marvellous growth of the work of Hindu reformers, who have dedicated themselves to the uplift of their suppressed brethren in every walk of life ?

I have, therefore, been compelled reluctantly to adhere to the decision conveyed to you.

As your letter may give rise to a misunderstanding, I wish to state that the fact of my having isolated for special treatment the Depressed Classes question from other parts of your decision does not in any way mean that I approve of or am reconciled to other parts of the decision. In my opinion, many other parts are open to very grave objection. Only, I do not consider them to be any warrant for calling upon me such self-immolation as my conscience has prompted me to in the matter of the Depressed Classes.

I remain,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. Gandhi."

Accordingly, on the 20th September, 1932, Mr. Gandhi commenced his "fast unto death" as a protest against the grant of separate electorates to the Untouchables.

FAST BY GANDHIJI, STATEMENT BY DR. AMBEDKAR

During the Round Table Conference in England, Gandhiji pretended to be the sole representative of the Untouchables. As their sole representative, he claimed that they do not deserve to be recognised by the Conference. The Round Table Conference should ignore them and live them to the tender mercies of the High Caste Hindus and their Congress. But Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar successfully disputed the claim of Gandhiji and secured Separate Electorate for them. Sensing the strength of Dr. Ambedkar's arguments at the Round Table Conference, Gandhiji got confused and baffled. When arguments failed, Gandhiji resorted to pressure tactics. Even during the Round Table Conference itself Gandhiji threatened to go on fast, if the demands of the Depressed Classes were conceded.

When the demands of the depressed classes were conceded through the Communal Award given by the British Prime Minister, Gandhiji wrote to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister replied. But the most convincing and reasonable reply of the Prime Minister was ignored by Gandhiji and his Congress. After rejecting the reply, Gandhiji announced the date of the fast.

Besides the British and Gandhiji and his Congress, Dr. Ambedkar as a leader of Depressed Classes was a party to it. He, therefore, issued a statement to clarify his stand. The statement is most revealing and relevant to the issue before us. The statement, besides clarifying the cause and stand of the Depressed Classes, is exposing the ignoble tactics of Gandhiji. The entire statement, therefore, is reproduced here below :—

Dr. Ambedkar's Statement on Gandhi's Fast

(Statement on Mr. Gandhi's attitude at the Round Table Conference to the Untouchables and their demand for Constitutional safeguards, 19th September, 1932).

I need hardly say that I was astounded to read the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Samuel Hoare and the Prime Minister, which was published recently in the papers, in which he has expressed his determination to starve himself unto death till the British Government of its own accord or under pressure of public opinion revise their opinion and withdraw their scheme of communal representation for the Depressed Classes. The unenviable position, in which I have been placed by the Mahatma's vow of self-immolation, can easily be imagined.

It passes my comprehension why Mr. Gandhi should stake his life on an issue arising out of the communal question which he, at the Round Table Conference, said was one of a comparatively small importance. Indeed, to adopt the language of Mr. Gandhi's way of thinking, the question was only an appendix to the book of India's constitution and not the main chapter. It would have been justifiable, if Mr. Gandhi had resorted to this extreme step for obtaining independence for the country on which he was so insistent all through the R.T.C. debates. It is also a painful surprise that Mr. Gandhi should single out special representation for the Depressed Classes in the Communal Award as an excuse for his self-immolation. Separate electorates are granted not only to the Depressed Classes,but to the Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, as well as to the Mahomedans and the Sikhs. Also separate electorates are granted to landlords, labourers and traders. Mr. Gandhi had declared his opposition to the special representation of every other class and creed except the Mahomedans and the Sikhs. All the same, Mr. Gandhi chooses to let everybody else except the Depressed Classes retain the special electorates given to them.

The fears expressed by Mr. Gandhi about the consequences of the arrangements for the representation of the Depressed Classes

are, in my opinion, purely imaginary. If the nation is not going to be split up by separate electorates to the Mahomedans and the Sikhs, the Hindu society cannot be said to be split up if the Depressed Classes are given separate electorates. His conscience is not aroused if the nation is split by the arrangements of Special Electorates for classes and communities other than the Depressed Classes.

I am sure many have felt that if there was any class which deserved to be given special political rights in order to protect itself against the tyranny of the majority under Swaraj constitution it was the Depressed Classes. Here is a class which is undoubtedly not in a position to sustain itself in the struggle for existence. The religion to which they are tied, instead of providing for them an honourable place, brands them as lepers, not fit for ordinary intercourse. Economically, it is a class entirely dependent upon the high caste Hindus for earning its daily bread with no independent way of living open to it. Nor all ways closed by reason of the social prejudices of the Hindus but there is a definite attempt all throughout the Hindu Society to bolt every possible door so as not to allow the Depressed Classes any opportunity to rise in the scale of life. Indeed it would not be an exaggeration to say that in every village the caste Hindus, however divided among themselves, are always in a standing conspiracy to put down in a merciless manner any attempt on the part of the Depressed Classes who form a small and scattered body of an ordinary Indian citizen.

In these circumstances, it would be granted by all fair minded persons that as the only path for a community so handicapped to succeed in the struggle for life against organised tyranny, some share of political power in order that it may protect itself is a paramount necessity.

I should have thought that a well-wisher of the Depressed Classes would have fought tooth and nail for securing to them as much political power as might be possible in the new Constitution. But the Mahatma's ways of thinking are strange and are certainly beyond my comprehension. He not only does not endeavour to

augment the scanty political power which the Depressed Classes have got under the Communal Award, but on the contrary he has staked his very life in order to deprive them of little they have got. This is not the first attempt on the part of the Mahatma to completely dish the Depressed Classes out of political existence. Long before, there was the Minorities Pact. The Mahatma tried to enter into an agreement with the Muslims and the Congress. He offered to the Muslims all the fourteen claims which they had put forth on their behalf, and in return asked them to join with him in resisting the claims for social representation made by me on behalf of the Depressed Classes.

It must be said to the credit of the Muslim delegates that they refused to be a party to such a black act, saved the Depressed Classes from what might as well have developed into a calamity for them as a result of the combined opposition of the Mohammedans and Mr. Gandhi.

I am unable to understand the ground of hostility of Mr. Gandhi to the Commual Award. He says that the Communal Award has separated the Depressed Classes from the Hindu community. On the other hand, Dr. Moonje, a much stronger protagonist of the Hindu case and a militant advocate of its interests, takes a totally different view of the matter. In the speeches which he has been delivering since his arrival from London, Dr.Moonje has been insisting that the Communal Award does not create any separation between the Depressed Classes and the Hindus. Indeed, he has been boasting that he has defeated me in my attempt to politically separate the Depressed Classes from the Hindus. I am sure that Dr. Moonje is right in his interpretation of the Communal Award although, I am not sure that the credit of it can legitimately go to Dr. Moonje. It is therefore surprising that Mahatma Gandhi who is a nationalist and not known to be a communalist should read the Communal Award, in so far as it relates to the Depressed Classes, in a manner quite contrary to that of a communalist like Dr. Moonje. If Dr. Moonje does not sense any separation of the Depressed Classes from the Hindus in the Communal Award the Mahatma ought to feel quite satisfied on that score.

In my opinion, that Communal Award should not only satisfy the Hindus, but also satisfy those individuals among the Depressed Classes such as Rao Bahadur Rajah. Mr. Baloo or Mr. Gawai who are in favour of Joint Electorate. Mr. Rajah's formulations in the Assembly have amused me considerably. An intense supporter of Separate Electorates and the bitterest and the most vehement critic of caste Hindu tyranny, now professes faith in the Joint Electorates and love for the Hindu. How much of that is due to his natural desire to resuscitate himself from the oblivion in which he was cast by his being kept out of the Round Table Conference and how much of it is to his honest change of faith, I do not propose to discuss.

The points on which Mr. Rajah is harping by way of criticism on the Communal Award are two: one is that the Depressed Classes have gained lesser number of seats than they are entitled to on the population basis, and the other is that the Depressed Classes have been separated from the Hindu fold.

I agree in his first grievance, but when Mr. Rao Bahadur begins to accuse those who represented the Depressed Classes at the R.T.C. for having sold their rights, I am bound to point out what Mr. Rajah did as a member of the Indian Central Committee. In that Committee's report, the Depressed Classes were given in Madras 10 seats out of 150; in Bombay 8 seats out of 14; in Bengal 8 seats out of 200; in U.P. 8 seats out of 182; in the Punjab 6 seats out of 150; in Bihar and Orissa 6 out of 150; in C.P. 8 out of 125 and in Assam 9 seats for the Depressed Classes and the indigeneous and primitive races out of 75. I do not wish to overburden this statement by pointing out how this distribution compares with the population ratio. But there can be no doubt that this meant a terrible under-representation of the Depressed Classes. To this distribution of seats Mr. Rajah was a party. Surely, Mr. Rajah, before he criticises the Communal Award and accuses others, should refresh his memory of what he accepted as Member of the Indian Central Committee on behalf of the Depressed Classes without any protest. If the population ratio of representation was to him a natural right of Depressed Classes and its full realisation was a necessity for their protection,

why did not Mr. Rajah insist upon it in the Central Committee when he had an opportunity to do so ?

As to this contention that in the Communal Award, the Depressed Classes have been separated from the caste Hindus, it is a view to which I cannot subscribe. If Mr. Rajah has any conscientious objection to separate electorates, there is no compulsion on him to stand as candidate in the Separate Electorate. The opportunity to stand as candidate in the general electorate as well as the right to vote in it are there, and Mr. Rajah is free to avail himself of the state. Mr. Rajah is crying at the top of his voice to assure to the Depressed Classes that there is a complete change of heart on the part of the Caste Hindus to prove that fact to the satisfaction of the Depressed Classes, who are not prepared to take his word by getting himself elected in the general constituency. The Hindus, who profess love and sympathy for the Depressed Classes, will have also an opportunity to prove their bonafides by electing Mr. Rajah to the legislature.

The Communal Award, therefore, in my opinion, satisfied both those who want separate electorates and those who want joint electorates. In this sense, it is already a compromise and should be accepted as it is. As to the Mahatma, I do not know what he wants. It is assumed that although Mahatma Gandhi is opposed to the system of separate electorates, he is not opposed to the system of joint electorates and Reserved Seats. That is a gross error. Whatever his views are today, while in London he was totally opposed to any system of special representation for the Depressed Classes whether by Joint Electorates or by Separate Electorates. Beyond the right to vote in a general electorate based upon Adult Suffrage, he was not prepared to concede anything to the Depressed Classes by way of securing their representation in the legislatures. This was the position he had taken at first. Towards the end of the R.T.C. he suggested to me a scheme, which he said, he was prepared to consider. The scheme, was purely conventional without any constitutional sanction behind it and without any single seat being reserved for the Depressed Classes in the electoral law.

The scheme was as follows:

Depressed Class candidates might stand in the general electorate as against other high caste Hindu candidates. If any Depressed Class Candidate was defeated in the election, he should file an election petition and obtain the verdict that he was defeated because he was an Untouchable. If such a decision was obtained the Mahatma said he would undertake to induce some Hindu members to resign and thus create a vacancy. There would be then another election in which the defeated Depressed Class candidate or any other Depressed Class candidate might again try his luck as against the Hindu candidates. Should he be defeated again, he should get similar verdict that he was defeated because he was an Untouchable and so on *ad infinitum*. I am disclosing these facts as some people are even now under the impression that the Joint Electorates and Reserved Seats would satisfy the conscience of the Mahatma. This will show why I insist that there is no use discussing the question until the actual proposals of the Mahatma are put forth.

I must, however, point out that I cannot accept the assurances of the Mahatma that he and his Congress will do the needful. I cannot leave so important a question as the protection of my people to conventions and understandings. The Mahatma is not an immortal person, and the Congress, assuming it is not a malevolent force, is not to have an abiding existence. There have been many Mahatmas in India whose sole object was to remove Untouchability and to elevate and absorb the Deparessed Classes, but every one of them has failed in his mission. Mahatmas have come and Mahatmas have gone. But the Untouchables have remained as Untouchables.

I have enough experience of the pace of Reform and the faith of Hindu reformers in the conflicts that have taken place at Mahad and Nasik, to say that no well-wisher of the Depressed Classes will ever consent to allow the uplift of Reformers who in moments of crisis prefer to sacrifice their principles rather than hurt the feelings of their kindred can be of no use to the Depressed Classes.

I am, therefore, bound to insist upon a Statutory guarantee for the protection of my people. If Mr. Gandhi wishes to have the Communal Award altered, it is for him to put forth his proposal and to prove that they give a better guarantee than has been given to us under the Award.

I hope that the Mahatma will desist from carrying out the extreme step contemplated by him. We mean no harm to the Hindu society when we demand separate electorates. If we choose separate electorates, we do so in order to avoid the total depenpence on the sweet will of the Caste Hindus in matters affecting our destiny. Like the Mahatma we also claim our right to err, and expect him not to deprive us of that right. His determination to fast himself upto death is worthy of a far better cause. I could have understood the propriety of the Mahatma contemplating such extreme step for stopping riots between Hindus and Mohammendans or between the Depressed Classes and the Hindus or any other national cause. It certainly cannot improve the lot of the Depressed Classes. Whether he knows it or not, the Mahatma's act will result in nothing but terrorism by his followers against the Depressed Classes all over the country.

Coercion of this sort will not win the Depressed Classes to the Hindu fold if they are determined to go out.

And if the Mahatma chooses to ask the Depressed Classes to make a choice between Hindu faith and possession of political power, I am quite sure that the Depressed Classes will choose political power and save the Mahatma from self-immolation. If Mr. Gandhi coolly reflects on the consequences of his act, I very much doubt whether he will find this victory worth having. It is still more important to note that the Mahatma is releasing reactionary and uncontrollable forces, and is fostering the spirit of hatred between the Hindu Community and the Depressed Classes by resorting to this method and thereby widening the existing gulf between the two. When I opposed Mr. Gandhi at the R.T.C., there was a hue and cry against me in the country and there was a conspiracy in the so called nationalist press to represent me as a traitor to the nationalist cause, to suppress correspon-

dence coming from my side and to boost the propaganda against my party by publishing exaggerated reports of meetings and conferences, many of which were never held. "Silver bullets" were freely used for creating division in the ranks of Depressed Classes. There have been also a few clashes ending in violence.

If the Mahatma does not want all this to be repeated on a large scale, let him, for God's sake, reconsider his decision and avert the disastrous consequences. I believe the Mahatma does not want this. But if he does not desist, in spite of his wishes these consequences are sure to follow as night follows the day.

Before concluding this statement, I desire to assure the public that although I am entitled to say that I regard the matter as closed, I am prepared to consider the proposal of the Mahatma. I, however, trust the Mahatma will not drive me to the necessity of making a choice between his life and the rights of my people. For I can never consent to deliver my people bound hand and foot to the Caste Hindus for generations to come.

THE POONA PACT

Under the impact of the coercive fast of Gandhiji, the Untouchables were forced to agree to alter the Communal Award and therefore lost Separate Electorates granted by the British Prime Minister. This new agreement between the High Caste Hindus and the Untouchables is known as Poona Pact.

The then prevalent circumstances are best described by Dr. Ambedkar himself as below :

"As to myself, it is no exaggeration to say that no man was placed in a greater and graver dilemma than I was then. It was a baffling situation. I had to make a choice between two different alternatives. There was before me the duty, which I owed as a part of common humanity, to save Gandhiji from sure death. There was before me the problem of saving for the Untouchables the Political rights which the Prime Minister has given them. I responded to the call of humanity and saved the life of Mr. Gandhi by agreeing to alter the Communal Award in a manner satisfactory to Mr. Gandhi. The agreement is known as the Poona Pact."

Text of the Poona Pact

(1) There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of the General electorates seats in the Provincial Legislatures as follows :

Madras	30
Bombay with Sind	15
Punjab	8
Bihar and Orissa	18
Central Provinces	20
Assam	7
Bengal	30
United Provinces	20
Total ...	148

These figures are based on total strength of the Provincial councils announced in the Prime Minister's decision.

(2) Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates, subject however, to the following procedure :

All the members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll in a constituency will form an electoral college, which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats, by the method of the single vote; the four getting the highest number of votes in such Primary election, shall be candidates for election by the general electorate.

(3) Representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates and reserved seats by the method of Primary election in the manner provided for in clause (2) above, for their representation in the Provincial Legislatures.

(4) In the Central Legislature, eighteen per cent of seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said Legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes.

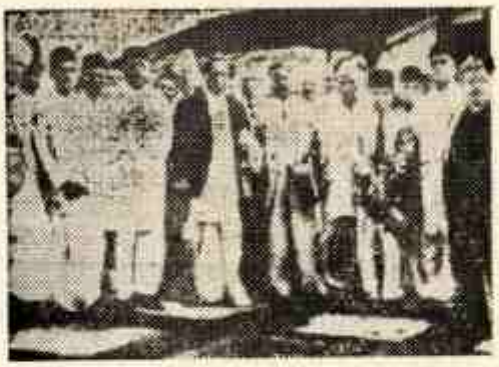
(5) The system of Primary election to a panel of Candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislature, as hereinbefore mentioned, shall come to an end after the first ten years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of clause (6) below.

(6) The system of representation of the Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in clauses (1) and (4) shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in the settlement.

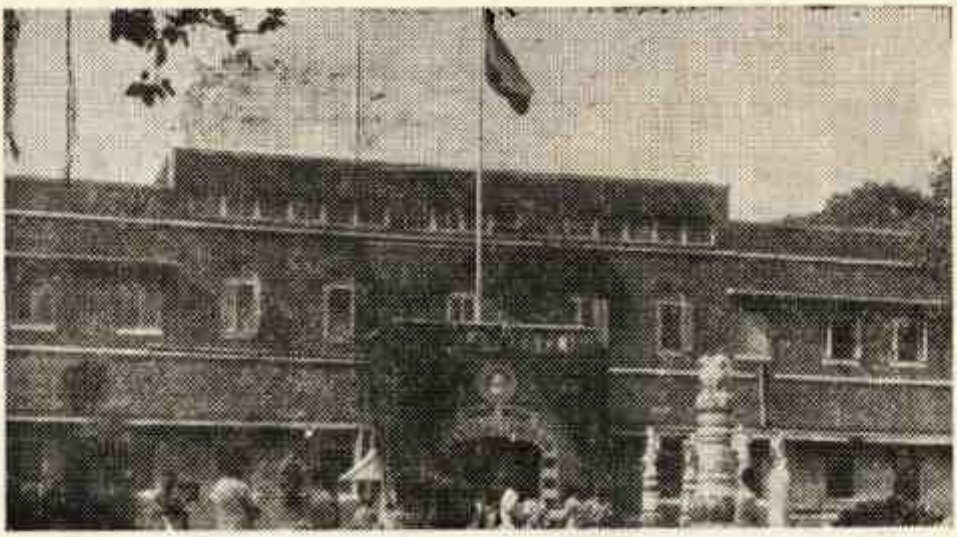
(7) Franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures for the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated in the Lothian Committee Report.

Places and Persons connected with the Poona Pact

Agha Khan Palace at Poona where Mahatma Gandhi was lodged.



Dr. Ambedkar with colleagues after signing the Poona Pact.



Yervada Prison, where Dr. Ambedkar was forced to sign the most unfortunate and unfavourable Poona Pact.

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(8) There shall be no disabilities attaching to anyone on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Class in regard to any elections to local bodies or appointment to the Public Services. Every endeavour shall be made to secure fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to the Public Services.

(9) In every Province out of the educational grant an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the Members of the Depressed Classes.

PART—II

AMBEDKAR ON POONA PACT

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2. **Denunciation of the Poona Pact :** 83

DISADVANTAGES OF THE POONA PACT

On 15th March 1947, on behalf of the Scheduled Caste Federation, Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar submitted a lengthy Memorandum to the Constituent Assembly which was to draft the future constitution of India. The Memorandum demanding the safeguards for the Scheduled Castes was quite long and exhaustive. One of the chapters of the Memorandum dealt with the Poona Pact, especially the disadvantages of the Poona Pact. It being most relevant to this book, expressing Babasaheb Ambedkar's views 15 years after the Poona Pact, is therefore reproduced below :

1. The Poona Pact was intended to devise a method whereby the Scheduled Castes would be able to return to the Legislature representatives of their choice. This intention has been completely nullified as will be seen from the following series of statistics. The series have been constructed from the results of the last elections which took place in February, 1946.

2. The statistical data is arranged in four series of tables :

First series show the votes secured by the successful Caste Hindu candidate and the successful Scheduled Caste candidate in the Final election.

Second series show in how many cases did reliance on reservation clause become necessary for the success of the Scheduled Caste candidate in the Final election and in how many he succeeded without the benefit of reservation.

Third series show the relative voting strength of the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes in constituencies in which seats are reserved for the Scheduled Castes.

Fourth series show the position in the Primary election of the Scheduled Caste Candidates who became successful in the Final elections.

3. The conclusions that follow from these figures will not escape those who care to examine them. The figures prove the following propositions :

(i) That every of the Scheduled Caste candidate who became successful in the Final election owed his success to the votes of the caste Hindus and not of the Scheduled Castes. A great many of them came to the top of the poll and secured votes equal to and in some cases larger than those obtained by Caste Hindu candidates (*See* Tables in the First Series). Secondly, in very few contituencies was the successful Scheduled Caste candidate required to rely on reservation (*See* Tables in the Second Series). This is a most unexpected phenomenon. Anyone who compares the voting strength of the Scheduled Castes with the voting strength of the Caste Hindus in the different constituencies (*See* Tables in the Third Series) would realize that the voting strength of the Scheduled Castes is so small that such a phenomenon could never have occurred if only the Scheduled Castes voters had voted for the Scheduled Caste candidates. That they have occurred is proof positive that the success of the Scheduled Caste candidate in the Final election is conditioned by the Caste Hindu votes.

(ii) That comparing the results of the Primary election with those of the Final election (*See* Tables in the Fourth series) the Scheduled Caste candidate who was elected in the Final election was one who had failed in the Primary election (if the Primary elction be treated as a Final election and the constituency be treated as a single-member constituency).

(iii) Owing to the extreme disparity between the voting strength of the Hindus and the Scheduled Castes—

disparity which will not disappear even under adult suffrage—a system of joint electorates will not succeed in giving the Scheduled Castes the chance of returning their true representatives.

(iv) The Poona Pact has completely disfranchised the Scheduled Castes inasmuch as candidates whom they rejected in the Primary elections—which is a true index of their will—have been returned in the Final election by the votes of the Caste Hindus.

The Poona Pact is thus fraught with mischief. It was accepted because of the coercive fast of Mr. Gandhi and because of the assurance given at the time that the Hindus will not interfere in the election of the Scheduled Castes.

First Series

I. MADRAS

Name of the Constituency	Seats	Votes polled by Successful Hindu candidates	Votes polled by succesful Scheduled Caste candidates
1	2	3	4
1. Coconada ...	2	32,607	28,544
2. Ellore ...	2	37,618	38,195
3. Bandar ...	2	69,319	70,931
4. Ongole ...	2	50,906	49,992
5. Penukonda ...	2	17,406	18,125
6. Kurnool ...	2	32,756	32,294
7. Chingleput ...	2	13,865	15,129
8. Thiruvalur ...	2	17,225	17,818
9. Ranipet ...	2	21,249	21,059
10. Tiruvannamalai ...	2	31,476	32,132
11. Tindivanam ...	2	25,626	25,442
12. Chindambaram ...	2	15,272	14,874
13. Tanjore ...	2	26,904	16,133
14. Mannargudi ...	2	29,932	30,116
15. Ariyalur ...	2	22,656	20,520
16. Sattur ...	2	30,988	29,530
17. Malapuram ...	2	28,229	28,085
18. Namakkal ...	2	15,433	15,085

II. BENGAL

Name of the Constituency	Seats	Votes polled by Successful Hindu candidates	Votes polled by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1	2	3	4	5
1. Burdwan Central ...	2	42,858	33,903	.....
2. Burdwan, North-West ...	2	32,270	25,723	.....
3. Birbhum	2	24,629	20,252	.....
4. Bankura, West	2	30,388	21,266	.....
5. Thurgram-cum-Ghatal ...	2	40,900	19,060	.....
6. Hooghly North-East ...	2	26,132	18,768	.....
7. Howrah	2	40,608	36,099	.....
8. 24-Parganas, South-East ...	2	50,345	38,459	.....
9. 24-Parganas, North-West ...	2	45,339	48,272	.....
10. Nadia	2	30,489	28,054	.....
11. Murshidabad	2	32,386	26,958	.....
12. Jessore	2	38,665	41,434	.....
13. Khulna	3	79,218	57,724	44,043
14. Malda	2	32,728	12,796	.....
15. Dinajpur	3	46,146	35,127	30,839
16. Jalpaiguri-cum-Siliguri ...	3	30,950	26,109	13,829
17. Rangpur	3	46,869	29,657	23,237
18. Bogra-cum-Pabna ...	2	43,249	31,515	.....
19. Dacca, East	2	51,808	31,392	.....
20. Mymensingh, West ...	2	37,983	32,782	.....
21. Mymensingh, East ...	2	43,678	32,207	.....
22. Faridpur	2	70,115	51,450	29,503
23. Bakargunj	2	48,560	28,560	.....
24. Tippera	2	60,146	59,051	.....

III. BOMBAY

Name of the Constituency	Seats	Votes secured by successful Hindu candidates			Votes secured by seccessful Scheduled Caste candidates
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Bombay City (Suburban)	3	57,182	47,835	.....	59,646
2. Bombay City (Byculla)	3	42,143	41,795	.....	43,251
3. Kaira District	4	68,044	63,422	57,394	69,807
4. Surat District	4	40,232	39,985	39,610	39,849
5. Thana, South	3	30,581	27,587	.....	11,630
6. Ahmednagar, South	3	25,747	20,948	.....	20,908
7. East Khandesh, East	4	38,721	34,349	33,960	36,136
8. Nasik, West	4	37,218	36,794	36,555	42,604
9. Poona, West	3	23,758	23,454	.....	24,709
10. Satara, North	4	44,315	42,727	41,474	43,961
11. Sholapur, North-East	3	19,380	16,705	.....	18,264
12. Belgaum, North	4	55,787	50,759	49,867	27,682
13. Bijapur, North	3	23,083	20,838	.....	16,059
14. Kolaba District	4	41,012	38,864	35,633	17,676
15. Ratnagiri, North	4	13,640	10,985	10,372	11,734

IV. UNITED PROVINCES

Name of the Constituency	Seats	Votes polled by successful Hindu candidates	Votes polled by successful Scheduled Caste Candidates
1	2	3	4
1. Lucknow City ...	2	24,614	14,110
2. Cawnpore City ...	2	34,550	34,782
3. Agra City ...	2	17,446	16,343
4. Allahabad City ...	2	19,870	10,308
5. Badaun District ...	2	6,716	14,037
6. Jalaun District ...	2	21,692	15,363
7. Basti District ...	2	14,450	15,447
8. Almora District ...	2	36,371	20,605
9. Rai Bareilli ...	2	15,917	1,889
10, Sitapur District ...	2	28,665	20,204
11. Gonda District ...	2	17,949	13,447

V. CENTRAL PROVINCES

Name of the Constituency	Seats	Votes polled by successful Hindu candidates	Votes polled by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1	2	3	4
1. Nagpur City ...	2	21,905	23,595
2. Nagpur-Umred ...	2	8,330	7,847
3. Hinganghat-Wardha ...	2	11,677	10,781
4. Chanda-Brahmapuri ...	2	10,208	8,144
5. Chindwara-Sansad ...	2	16,365	6,190
6. Saugor-Khurai ...	2	7,829	5,162
7. Raipur	2	8,183	6,112
8. Baloda Bazar ...	2	21,861	9,659
9. Bilaspur	2	13,109	6,030
10. Mungeli	2	9,600	6,418
11. Tanjgir	2	11,914	7,419
12. Drug	2	5,975	5,593
13. Bhandara-Sakoli ...	2	16,824	10,491
14. Yeotmal-Daresha ...	2	10,915	4,719
15. Ellichpur	2	16,298	4,592
16. Chikhli-Mehkar ...	2	16,397	2,748
17. Akola-Balapur ...	2	6,455	5,567

VI. ASSAM

Name of the Contituency	Seats	Votes polled by successful Hindu candidates		Votes polled by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1	2	3	4	5
1. Kamrup-Saor, South	3	15,890	14,971	13,693
2. Nowgong ...	1	...	...	14,560
3. Jorhat, North ...	2	17,429	...	5,809
4. Habibganj ...	2	10,985	...	9,770
5. Karimganj ...	2	12,562	...	11,676
6. Silchar ...	2	17,340	...	7,081

VII. ORISSA

Name of the Constituency	Seats	Votes obtained by successful Hindu candidates	Votes obtained by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1	2	3	4
1. East Tajpur ...	2	8,427	8,712
2. East Burgarh ...	2	4,195	937

Second Series

NUMBER OF CONSTITUENCIES IN WHICH RESERVATION BECAME NECESSARY FOR THE SCHEDULED CASTE CANDIDATES TO SUCCEED IN ELECTION

Province	Number of Constituencies in which seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes.	Number of Constituencies in which there was a conflict	Number of Constituencies in which the contest was due to excess of Hindu candidates	Number of Constituencies in which the contest was due to excess of Scheduled Caste candidates	Number of Constituencies in which the contest was due to excess of both.	Number of Constituencies in which reliance on reservation became necessary for the Scheduled Caste candidates to succeed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Madras ...	30	18	14	17	...	None
2. Bengal ...	30	24	19	24	19	None
3. Bombay ...	15	15	15	15	15	2
4. C.P. ...	22	17	14	17	14	2
5. U.P. ...	15	11	5	11	6	None
6. Assam ...	...	...	...	...	...	2
7. Orissa ...	...	2	...	2	...	None
8. Punjab ...	8	...	...	...	...	...

Third Series

RELATIVE VOTING STRENGTH OF CASTE HINDUS AND SCHEDULED CASTES

I. MADRAS

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
1. Madras City, South Central	26,922	4,082	1 : 6.6
2. Chicacole ...	90,496	8,070	1 : 11.2
3. Amalapuram ...	95,954	28,282	1 : 3.4
4. Cocanada ...	86,932	17,616	1 : 4.9
5. Ellore ...	88,249	16,835	1 : 5.24
6. Ongole ...	1,10,152	11,233	1 : 9.8
7. Gudur ...	52,415	10,263	1 : 5.1
8. Cuddapath ...	92,572	10,842	1 : 8.5
9. Penukonda ...	74,952	11,896	1 : 6.3
10. Bellary ...	85,928	10,146	1 : 8.5
11. Kurnool ...	72,753	11,679	1 : 6.2
12. Tirutanni ...	77,337	15,243	1 : 5.07
13. Chingleput ...	73,554	22,182	1 : 3.3
14. Tiruvallur ...	81,814	21,287	1 : 3.8
15. Ranipet ...	24,403	11,271	1 : 2.1
16. Tiruvannamalai	97,259	15,536	1 : 6.2
17. Tindivanam ...	85,514	19,221	1 : 4.4
18. Chidambaram ...	96,086	16,762	1 : 5.7
19. Tirukoyilur ...	1,02,482	21,733	1 : 4.7
20. Tanjore ...	99,496	13,198	1 : 7.5
21. Manaargudi ...	69,579	11,547	1 : 5.8
22. Ariyalur ...	1,13,630	16,772	1 : 6.7
23. Palani ...	92,655	13,521	1 : 6.8
24. Sattur ...	84,169	8,033	1 : 10.5
25. Koilpatti ...	1.00,521	20,907	1 : 4.8
26. Pollachi ...	63,821	12,808	1 : 4.9
27. Namakkal ...	51,860	11,407	1 : 4.5
28. Coondapur ...	46,032	8,030	1 : 5.7
29. Malapuram ...	70,346	10,808	1 : 6.5

II. BOMBAY

Constituency	Total number of voters in the constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of calumns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
General Urban			
1. Bombay City North and Bombay Suburban Dist.	1,67,002	34,266	1 : 4.8
2. Bombay City-Byculla and Parel ...	1,52,991	28,520	1 : 5.3
General Rural			
3. Kaira District ...	1,39,508	7,318	1 : 19.06
4. Surat District ...	85,670	4,765	1 : 18.8
5. Thana, South ...	67,749	4,668	1 : 14.5
6. Ahmednagar, South...	73,162	7,382	1 : 9.9
7. East Khandesh, East...	91,377	10,109	1 : 9.35
8. Nasik, West ...	99,274	12,698	1 : 7.7
9. Poona, West ...	73,551	13,055	1 : 5.6
10. Satara, North ...	95,459	11,152	1 : 8.5
11. Sholapur, North-East	64,583	9,713	1 : 6.6
12. Belgaum, North ...	79,422	18,303	1 : 4.3
13. Bijapur, North ...	60,655	8,993	1 : 6.7
14. Kolaba District ...	1,03,828	5,001	1 : 20.7
15. Ratnagiri, North ...	32,606	3,529	1 : 9.2

III. BENGAL

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Casts voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
General Rural			
1. Burdwan, Central ...	74,306	24,610	1 : 3.01
2. Burdwan, North-West	80,035	16,830	1 : 4.8
3. Birbhum ...	1,03,231	37,637	1 : 2.7
4. Bankura, West ...	84,128	25,487	1 : 3.3
5. Midnapore, Central...	99,961	20.167	1 : 4.95
6. Jhargam-cum-Ghatal	64,031	13,091	1 : 4.85
7. Hooghly, North-East	67,697	20,318	1 : 3.33
8. Howrah ...	1,33,346	22,990	1 : 4.5
9. 24-Parganas, South—West ...	82,366	47,378	1 : 1.7
10. 24-Parganas, North—East ...	85,477	30,607	1 : 2.78
11. Nadia ...	90,092	25,605	1 : 3.5
12. Murshidabad ...	81,083	17,176	1 : 4.8
13. Jessore ...	1,21,760	55,052	1 : 2.2
14. Khulna ...	1,45,335	76,848	1 : 1.87
15. Malda ...	73,664	29,010	1 : 2.54
16. Dinajpur ...	1,48,804	1,18,454	1 : 1.25
17. Jalpaiguri-cum-Siliguri	78,552	65,679	1 : 1.2
18. Rangpur ...	29,437	65,679	1 : 0.44
19. Bogra-cum-Pabna ...	87,704	33,873	1 : 2.58
20. Dacca, East ...	94,858	40,238	1 : 2.35
21. Mymensingh, West ...	98,795	38,046	1 : 2.59
22. Mymensingh, East ...	68,360	29,588	1 : 2.3
23. Faridpur ...	1,72,683	96,319	1 : 1.7
24. Bakarganj, South—West ...	78,796	49,014	1 : 1.6
25. Tippera ...	1,27,097	34,813	1 : 0.61

IV. UNITED PROVINCES

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
General Urban			
1. Lucknow City ...	89,412	9,079	1 : 9.8
2. Cawnpore City ...	1,31,599	22,515	1 : 5.8
3. Agra City ...	47,505	10,105	1 : 4.7
4. Allahabad City ...	55,379	6,854	1 : 8.07
General Rural			
5. Charanpur District South-East ...	47,773	7,256	1 : 6.5
6. Bulandshah District, South-East ...	49,699	7,506	1 : 6.6
7. Agra District, North-East ...	61,515	8,290	1 : 7.4
8. Manipuri District North-East ...	51,406	5,878	1 : 8.7
9. Budaun District, East	46,966	7,087	1 : 6.6
10. Jalaun District ...	68,815	14,611	1 : 4.7
11. Mirzapur Disrict, North ...	43,648	4,045	1 : 10.7
12. Gorakhpur District, North ...	43,441	5,626	1 : 7.7
13. Basti District, South	37,084	4,194	1 . 8.8
14. Azamgarh District, West ...	51,194	8,127	1 : 6.2
15. Almora District ...	1,39,217	20,671	1 : 6.7
16. Rai Bareilli District, North-East ...	48,697	10,488	1 : 4.6
17. Sitapur District, North. East ...	76,682	22,913	1 : 3.3
18. Fyzabad District, East	57,154	9,988	1 : 5.7
19. Gonda District, North-East ...	64,225	8,274	1 : 7.7
20. Bara Banki District, North ...	68,285	16,303	1 : 4.18

V. CENTRAL PROVINCES

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Casts voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
General Urban			
1. Nagpur City	... 72,329	14,388	1 : 5.02
General Rural			
2. Nagpur-Umrer	... 29,267	6,037	1 : 4.8
3. Hinghanghat-Wardha	... 35,201	4,011	1 : 9.02
4. Chanda-Brahmapuri	... 30,132	5,229	1 : 5.7
5. Chindwara-Sausar	... 37,942	3,914	1 : 9.7
6. Jubulpure-Patan	... 20,587	1,186	1 : 17.5
7. Saugor-Khurai	... 30,660	5,224	1 : 5.8
8. Damoh-Hatta	... 33,284	3,608	1 : 9.2
9. Narsinghpur-Gadarwara	35,781	2,019	1 : 17.6
10. Raipur	... 33,053	11,041	1 : 2.9
11. Baloda Bazar	... 46,943	15,636	1 : 3.06
12. Bilaspur	... 33,260	10,547	1 : 3.1
13. Mungeli	... 28,028	10,067	1 . 2.7
14. Janjgir	... 42,763	13,558	1 : 3.15
15. Drug	... 34,883	8,942	1 : 3.19
16. Bhandara-Sakoli	... 47,047	10,399	1 ; 4.5
17. Ellichpur-Dartapur-Neighat	... 30,094	2,885	1 : 13.8
18. Akola-Belapur	... 25,912	3,233	1 : 9.81
19. Yeotmal-Darwha	... 20,327	2,020	1 : 10.06
20. Chikhli-Mehkar	... 37,936	3,468	1 : 10 9

VI. BIHAR

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
1. East Bihar ...	35,631	4,618	1 : 7.7
2. South Gaya ...	49.363	10,360	1 : 4.7
3. Nawada ...	41,432	7,684	1 ; 5.3
4. East Central Shahabad.	41,707	5,984	1 : 6.9
5. West Gopalganj ...	33,395	3,415	1 : 9.7
6. North Bettiah ...	25,760	2,831	1 : 9.09
7. East Muzaffarpur-Sadr.	27,271	3,133	1 : 8.7
8. Darbhanga Sadr. ...	26,864	2,116	1 : 12.6
9. South-East Samastipur	37,291	2,672	1 : 13.9
10. South Sadr-Monghyr ...	54,229	6,465	1 : 8.5
11. Madhipura ...	26,523	1,284	1 : 20.6
12. South-West Purnea ...	44,232	2,938	1 : 15.05
13. Giridih-cum-Ghatra ...	55,246	4,667	1 : 11.8
14. North-East Palamnu ...	23,072	4,237	1 : 5.3
15. Central Manbhum ...	39,626	5,617	1 : 7.05

VII. ASSAM

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
1. Nowgong, North-East ...	26,618	3,569	1 : 7.2
2. Kamrup Sadr, South ...	33,234	2,117	1 : 15.6
3. Silchar	38,647	4,201	1 : 9.2
4. Karimganj East ...	25,701	10,132	1 : 2.5
5. Jorhat, North ...	26,733	1,360	1 : 19.6
6. Jonamganj ...	39,045	11,603	1 : 3.3
7. Habibganj, North ...	31,511	9,996	1 : 3.1

VIII. PUNAB

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
1. South-East Gurgaon ...	37,815	6,049	1 : 6.2
2. Karnal, North ...	31,967	5.120	1 : 6.2
3. Ambala and Simla ...	47,403	17,507	1 : 3.27
4. Hoshiarpur, West ...	51,084	7,281	1 : 7.0
5. Jullundur ...	36,570	20,521	1 : 1.8
6. Ludhiana and Ferozepur	52,009	27,354	1 : 1.8
7. Amritsar and Sialkot ...	38,046	10,328	1 : 3.68
8. Lyallpur and Jhang ...	32,703	7,602	1 : 4.2

Fourth Series

COMPARISON OF PRIMARY ELECTION AND FINAL ELECTION

I. MADRAS

Constituency	Scheduled Caste candidate who was successful in Final election			His rank among candidates who fought the general election	His position in the primary election treattng the Constituency as a single member Constituency	Votes obtained in the Primary election	Was his success in Primary election due to bare or absolute majority or split vote
	His name	His party affiliation	Number of votes secured				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Amalapuram	... Pandu Lakshmanaswami	Congress	48,524	1st among 3	3rd (failed)	2,683	.....
2. Cocanada	... B.S. Murthy	Congress	28,544	2nd among 4 (beating 4 Hindus)	4th (failed)	1.411	.....
3. Bandar	... Vemula Kurmayya	Congress	70,931	1st among 6 (beating 4 Hindus)	2nd (failed)	4,914	.....
4. Cuddapah	... Swarna Nagayya	Congress	.....	.....	1st	3,482	Absolute majority

(Contd. on page 78)

(Contd. from page 77)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5. Penukonda	... D. Kadrippa	Congress	18,125	1st among 4 (beating 1 Hindu and 2 Sch. Castes)	1st	2,564	Bare majority.
6. Tiruvannamali	R. Thangavelu	Congress	32,132	1st among 5 (beating 2 Hindus and 2 Sch. Castes)	1st	1,960	Bare majority.
7. Tindivanam	... K. Kulashekhardas	Congress	25,442	2nd among 4 (beating 2 Hindus	1st	2,785	Split vote.
8. Mannargudi	... Thiagoo Voikarar	Congress	30,116	1st among 5 (beating 5 Hindus)	1st	2,895	Split vote.
9. Pollachi	... C Krishna Kudumban	Congress	.....	.....	1st	2,430	Absolute majority
10. Namakkal	... M.P. Periyaswami	Congress	15,085	2nd among 5 (beating 2 Hindus and 1 Sch. Caste).	1st	2,355	Bare Majority.

Constituency	Scheduled Caste candidate who was successful in Final election			His rank among candidates who fought the general election	His position in the Primary election treating the Constituency as a single member Constituency	Votes obtained in the Primary election	Was his success in Primary election due to bare or absolute majority or split vote
	His name	His party affiliation	Number of votes secured				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Bombay City, North	Savlaram Gundaji Songaoker	Congress	59,646	1st among 3 (standing above 2 Hindus)	2nd (failed)	2,038	...
2. Bombay City, Byculla and Parel	N.S Kajrolkar	Congress	43,251	1st among 3 (standing above 2 general candidates)	2nd (failed)	2,098	...
3. East Khandesh, East	Hiralal Kalyani	Congress	36,136	2nd among 4 (beating 2)	2nd (failed)	1,147	...

III. CENTRAL PROVINCES

Constituency	Scheduled Caste candidate who was successful in Final election			His rank among candidates who fought the general election	His position in the Primary election treating the Constituency as a single member Constituency	Votes obtained in the Primary election	Was his success in Primary election due to bare or obsolute majority or split vote
	His name	His party affiliation	Number of votes secured				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Nagpur-Umrer	Lelendra Ramchandra	Congress	7,847	2nd	3rd (failed)	112	...
2. Hinghanghat-Wardha	Shanker Vithal	Congress	10,781	2nd	4th (failed)	56	...
3. Bhandara-Sokoli	Harnuji Isram	Congress	10,491	2nd	3rd (failed)	471	..
4. Yeotmal-Darwha	Daulat-Luxman	Congress	4,719	2nd	3rd (failed)	126	...

IV. UNITED PROVINCES

Constituency	Scheduled Caste candidate who was successful in Final election			His rank among candidates who fought the general election	His position in the Primary election treating the Constituency as a single member Constituency	Votes obtained in the Primary election	Was his success in Primary election due to bare or absolute majority or split vote
	His name	His party affiliation	Number of votes secured				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Agra City	Ram Chand	Congress	16,343	2nd	1st	836	Bare majority and spilt vote
2. Allahabad City	Masuria Din	Congress	10,308	2nd	1st	1,701	Bare majority and split vote
3. Almora	Khushi Ram	Congress	20,605	2nd	2nd (failed)	937	...

V. PUNJAB

Constituency	Scheduled Caste candidate who was successful in Final election			His rank among candidates who fought the general election	His position in the Primary election treating the Constituency as a single member Constituency	Votes obtained in the Primary election	Was his success in Primary election due to bare or absolute majority or split vote
	His name	His party affiliation	Number of votes secured				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. South-East Gurgaon	Prem Singh	Unionist	7,706	2nd	1st	1,353	Split vote
2. Karnal, North	Sunder	Congress	3,136	2nd	1st	519	Bare majority
3. Ambala-Simla	Prithiv Singh Azad	Congress	10,503	2nd	3rd (failed)	1,392	...
4. Hoshiarpur, West	Mehr Chand	Congress	16,307	2nd	3rd (failed)	641	...
5. Jullundhur	Gurbanta Singh	Congress	21,476	1st	1st	...	...
6. Ludhyana-Ferozpur	Matu Ram	Congress	24,352	1st	4th (failed)	812	...
7. Lyallpur and Jhang	Harbhaj Ram	...	8,312	2nd	2nd (failed)	1,166	...

DENUNCIATION OF THE POONA PACT

The Untouchables were forced to sign the Poona Pact under the impact of the coercive fast of Gandhiji. Dr. Ambedkar denounced it the very next day expressing his views, "The Untouchables were sad. They had every reason to be." He kept denouncing it till the end of his life in 1956. He denounced it in private discussions, public meetings, revelent writings, in fact on all the occasions that demanded denunciation.

As an illustration of the denunciation by Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar, some quotations from his two books (1) What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables, published in 1945 & (2) States and Minorities, published in 1947, are given below :-

1. "There was nothing noble in the fast. It was a foul and filthy act. The Fast was not for the benefit of the Untouchables. It was against them and was the worst form of coercion against helpless people to give up the constitutional safegaruds of which they had become possessed under the Prime Minister's Award and agree to live on the mercy of the Hindus. It was a vile and wicked act. How can the Untouchables regard such a man as honest and sincere ?"

2. "The Communal Award gave the Untouchables two banefits :—

(i) a fixed quota of seats to be elected by separate electorate of Untouchables and to be filled by persons belonging to the Untouchables.

(ii) double vote, one to be used through separate electorates and the other to be used in the general electorates.

Now, if the Poona Pact increased the quota of seats for the Untouchables it took away the right to the double vote given to them by the Communal Award. This increase in seats can never

be deemed to be a compensation for the loss of the double vote. The second vote given by the Communal Award was a priceless privilege. Its value as a political weapon was beyond reckoning."

3. "Today the Untouchables have a few more seats than were given to them by the Communal Award. But this is all that they have. Every other member is indifferent, if not hostile. If the Communal Award with its system of double voting had remained, the Untouchables would have had a few seats less but every other member would have been a member for the Untouchables. The increase in the number of seats for the Untouchables is no increase at all and no recompense for the loss of separate electorate and the double vote."

4. "Clause (5) of the Poona Pact has limited the system of primary election to ten years which means that any election taking place after 1947 will be by a system of joint electorates and reserved seats pure and simple."

"Things will be much worse under the system of joint electorates and reserved seats which will hereafter become operative under the terms of the Poona Pact. This is no mere speculation. The last election has conclusively proved that the Scheduled Castes can be completely disfranchised in a joint electorate."

5. "——The Poona Pact had produced different reactions. The Untouchables were sad. They had every reason to be.——"

6. "In the light of these considerations, it can not but appear that the Poona Pact was only the first blow inflicted upon the Untouchables and that the Hindus who disliked it were bent on inflicting on it other blows as and when circumstances gave them an occasion to do so."

7. "After having accepted the Poona Pact, why did not Mr. Gandhi keep faith with the Untouchables by telling the Congress not to despoil the politics of the Untouchables by contesting the seats reserved for the Untouchables by getting such Untouchables elected as were prepared to become the tools of the Hindus ?"

8. "After having accepted the Poona Pact why did not Mr. Gandhi keep up the gentleman's agreement and instruct the Congress High Command to include representatives of the Untouchables in the Congress Cabinets ?"

9. "——This shows that Mr. Gandhi notwithstanding his being a party to the Poona Pact is determined not to allow the Scheduled Castes being given the status of a separate element and that he is prepared to adopt any argument however desperate to justify his attitude of opposition."

10. "In short Mr. Gandhi is still on the war path so far as the Untouchables are concerned. He may start the trouble over again. The time to trust him has not arrived. The Untouchables must still hold that the best way to safeguard themselves is to say 'Beware of Mr. Gandhi."

11. "The second misdeed of the Congress was to subject the Untouchable Congressmen to the rigours of party discipline. They were completely under the control of the Congress Party Executive. They could not ask a question which it did not like. They could not move a resolution which it did not permit. They could not bring in legislation to which it objected. They could not vote as they wished and could not speak what they felt. They were there as dumb driven catttle. One of the objects of obtaining representation in the Legislature for the Untouchables is to enable them to ventilate their grievances and to obtain redress for their wrongs. The Congress successfully and effectively prevented this from happening."

12. "To end this long and sad story the Congress sucked the juice out of the Poona Pact and threw the rind in the face of the Untouchables."

13. "The Poona Pact has completely disfranchised the Scheduled Castes inasmuch as candidates whom they rejected in the Primary election—which is a true index of their will-have been returned in the Final election by the votes of the Castes Hindus."

14. "The Poona Pact is thus fraught with mischief. It was accepted because of the coercive fast of Mr. Gandhi and because of assurance given at the time that the Hindus will not interfere in the election of Scheduled Caste."

PART—III

THE CHAMCHA AGE

(An Era of the Stooges)

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THE CHAMCHA AGE

(AN ERA OF THE STOOGES)

"The Joint Electorate is from the point of the Hindus to use a familiar phrase a "rotten borough" in which the Hindus get the right to nominate an untouchable to set nominally as a representative of the untouchables but really as a tool of the Hindus."

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

What is Chamcha ?

Tool of the Hindus is the word Dr. Ambedkar has used in this quotation. Dealing with the political rights of the Scheduled Castes which he secured for them, he had been very often using this word "Tool". Besides the tool, he had been using other words like—agent of the Hindus or stooge of the Hindus. It has been his lot throughout his life to deal with these tools, agents and stooges, while pushing ahead with the political claims of the Scheduled Castes.

These tools, agents and stooges of the High Caste Hindus have been increasing in numbers and varieties with the passage of time. The political exigencies of the post independence period gave a big boost to these tools, agents and stooges. After the sad demise of Baba Saheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in 1956, this process accelerated so much that today these tools, agents and stooges of the High Caste Hindus are found in abundance, not only in political field but also in every field of human activity and relationship. Intially these tools, agents and stooges were visible only to Dr. Ambedkar and the discerning eyes. Later, they were to be detected by the intelligentsia. But to-day, these tools, agents and stooges are so much a common factor of daily life, that they can be easily detected by the common man in the public. The common man has his own terminology. In his terminology a tool, an agent, or a stooge is termed as Chamcha. And in this book, I have decided to use the common man's terminology. To my mind, it will be fruitful to use common man's terminology when we fight for his cause.

Chamcha is an indegenous word used for a person who cannot operate on his own, but requires to be operated by some one else. And that some one else always uses the Chamcha for his personal use and good or for the good of his creed, which is always detrimental to the creed of the Chamcha. In this book more than the tool, the agent and the stooge we shall be using the word—Chamcha. In the Indian context and for the common man, this word will be more effective because besides the meaning, it conveys the spirit with the optimum effect. All these four words (i) Chamcha (ii) Stooge, (iii) Agent, (iv) Tool carry the same meaning but slightly different spirit. Their use will, therefore depend upon their effectiveness in carrying the meaning and the spirit.

A Missionary must not be mistaken as a Chamcha

Some people are likely to mistake missionaries as Chamchas. It can be a great blunder. The missionaries and chamchas are poles apart. A missionary is most obedient where as a Chamcha is most subservient. Those who cannot distinguish between obedience and subservience are likely to mistake a missionary also as a chamcha. A Chamcha is used against his own creed whereas a missionary is used for the good of his creed. Further, a chamcha is used to weaken the real and genuine leader of his own creed, whereas a missionary is used to help and strengthen the hands of the real and genuine leader of his own creed. Many more points can be cited to differentiate a chamcha from a missionary worker. But here, we are interested only in stressing upon the point that a missionary must not be mistaken as a Chamcha.

Necessity of Creating Chamchas

A tool, an agent, a stooge or a chamcha is created to oppose the real, the genuine fighter. Only when there are genuine and real fighters the chamchas are in demand. When there is no fight, no struggle and no danger from any fighter the chamchas are not required, they are not in demand. As we have seen that from the beginning of the 20th century, the depressed classes had been up in arms against untouchability and unjust social order, almost all over India. Initially, they were ignored. But later, when the real leadership of the depressed classes became powerful and formidable, they could not be igno-

red. At this stage, the High Caste Hindus, felt the necessity of setting chamchas against the real leaders of the depressed classes.

During the Round Table Conference, Dr. Ambedkar fought for the depressed classes most convincingly. Upto that time, Gandhiji and his Congress were under the impression that the depressed classes were not having any real leader who could fight for them. During the Round Table Conferences, around 1930-31 Gandhiji and his Congress opposed, inch by inch upto the very last moment every one of the demands of the depressed classes for political safeguards. But the calibre of Dr. Ambedkar's leadership could secure the just demands of the depressed classes. Inspite of all the opposition from Gandhiji and Congress, the Prime Minister's Award announced on 17th August, 1932, gave Separate Electorate to the depressed classes. During this period of 1930 to 1932 Gandhiji and the Congress felt the necessity of chamchas for the first time.

Dark Age to Bright Age

The untouchables of India had undergone such sufferings in their own land for centuries, which no other people had suffered in the entire world, even in the alien lands. The sufferings and humiliations of the slaves, the Negroes and the Jews are nothing as campared to the untouchables of India. When we think of the man's inhumanity to man, the Sanatanism of the Hindus against the Untouchables has no parallel in the world. The untouchables of India remained world's worst slaves for centuries. Brahminism had such poisonous germs in it, that it effectively killed the desire to revolt against the worst form of injustice. Thus the Untouchables of India suffered for centuries which can be termed as the Dark Age for them.

During the British rule these untouchables were exposed to the western education and the western civilisation for quite a long time. This exposure kindled a spirit of revolt in them. Thus we find that in the beginning of the 20th century, the untouchables were up in arms almost all over India against untouchability and the unjust social order. By 1920, Dr. Ambedkar emerged as a leader and saviour for them. Within 10 years he took their cause to the Round Table Conferences held in England during 1931, 32. During these 2 Round Table Conferences, he fought for the untouchables successfully and secured all sorts of safe-

guards for them, especially the political safeguards in the form of separate electorates. Looking back, now in retrospect, we can safely say that Dr. Ambedkar was taking the untouchables of India from the Dark Age to the Bright Age. But alas, this was not to happen, before reaching Bright Age, they slipped aside into the Chamcha Age.

Side Slip to the Chamcha Age

Around this period of 1931, 32, Dr. Ambedkar's efforts were partly sabotaged by Gandhiji and his Congress. Dr. Ambedkar was struggling to take the untouchables of India from Dark Age to Bright Age. But Gandhiji and his Congress were having different designs. Gandhiji wanted to run the affairs of this country as per his Dharma based on Chaturvarnya. By doing so he was sure to keep the untouchables in the Dark Age, just as Chaturvarnya could keep them for centuries.

Guided by such designs, Gandhiji fought tooth and nail against any safeguards for them. During the Round Table Conference, he fought inch by inch till the last. He even conceded all the demands of the Muslims for their hostility to the untouchables, which luckily for them, Muslim leaders did not agree. Inspite of all this, Dr. Ambedkar succeeded in getting the safeguards for them, especially the political safeguards in the form of separate electorate.

It was too much for Gandhiji. When arguments failed him, he took to coercion and threatened fast till death. The British Prime Minister wrote very convincing letter to Gandhiji. But Gandhiji went on fast on 20th September, 1932. The coercive effect of Gandhiji's fast can be best explained by the following extract from Dr. Ambedkar's statement issued on 19th September, 1932 :—

"It is still more important to note that the Mahatma is releasing reactionary and uncontrollable forces, and is fostering the spirit of hatred between the Hindu Community and the Depressed Classes by resorting to this method and thereby widening the existing gulf between the two. When I opposed Mr. Gandhi at Round Table Conference, there was a hue and cry against me in the country and there was conspiracy in the so-called nationalist press to supress correspondence coming from my side and

to boost the propaganda against my party by publishing exaggerated reports of meetings and conferences, many of which were never held. "Silver Bullets were freely used for creating division in the ranks of the depressed classes. There have been also a few clashes ending in violence.

If the Mahatma does not want all this to be repeated on a large scale, let him, for God's sake, reconsider his decision and avert the disastrous consequences. I believe the Mahatma does not want this. But if he does not desist, in spite of his wishes these consequences are sure to follow as night follows the day."

The above cited portion of Dr. Ambedkar's statement gives a glimpse of the dilemma in which Dr. Ambedkar was at that time. "My life is in your hands, will you save me?" was Gandhiji's plea to Dr. Ambedkar. This shows the overimpatience of Gandhiji to get out of the situation created by his fast. Such being the dilemma of Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhiji at that time, both were eager to get out of the situation. Thus, "disliked by the Hindus and disfavoured by the Untouchables, the Poona Pact was given recognition by both parties and was embodied in the Govt. of India Act."

The Poona Pact took away the separate electorates from the untouchables and imposed the joint electorates on them. Its effect has been wonderfully explained by Baba Saheb Dr. Ambedkar himself :

"Things will be much worse under the system of joint electorates and reserved seats which will hereafter become operative under the terms of the Poona Pact. This is no mere speculation. The last election (1946) has conclusively proved that the Scheduled Castes can be completely disfranchised in a joint electorate." The inevitable happened, the Poona Pact completely disfranchised the Scheduled Castes and thereby pushed them into the Chamcha Age.

How Old is this Chamcha Age ?

On 24th September, 1932, Poona Pact was forced on the depressed classes. With this started the Chamcha Age. When Hindus were forced to concede a little bit of power, they took to second line of defence. They saw to it that they must not lose control over it. This was secured by joint electorates.

Through the joint electorates, the representatives of the untouchables became only nominal representatives and not real representatives, for no untouchable who did not agree to be a nominee of the Hindu and be a Chamcha in their hands could be elected in a joint electorate in which the untouchable voter was out numbered in ratio of 1 to 5 or in some cases 1 to 10.

That is why Gandhiji agreed to concede two Chamchas through joint electorates against one real representative through separate electorate. But any number of chamchas cannot be a substitute even for one real representative. Whether the depressed classes liked it or not, but they were pushed into the Chamcha Age by the Poona-Pact, on 24th September, 1932. This Chamcha Age will be 50 years old on September 24, 1982 when D-S4 denounces Poona—Pact at Poona itself.

How long the Chamcha Age will last ?

This is another painful question before us not only for answer but also to grapple with. First of all, we will have to understand that how the chamchas of various varieties developed over the last 50 years. The High Caste Hindus who are ruling India to-day had felt the necessity of creating the chamchas only when there was danger to them of the real and genuine leadership of the depressed classes. Today, when there is no genuine and real leadership of the oppressed & exploited communities, the chamchas are lying low and not much in demand. At any rate there is no pampering of the chamchas as in the past. But with the emergence of real and genuine leadership through BAMCEF & D-S4 the chamchas may again assume importance. Such a situation will last, as long as the struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed lasts. In the light of my judgement, it may not take more than 10 years to put an absolute and complete end to the Chamcha Age.

VARIOUS VARIETIES OF CHAMCHAS

"Clause (5) of the Poona Pact has limited the system of primary election to ten years which means that any election taking place after 1947 will be by a system of joint etectorates and reserved seats pure and simple.

Things will be much worse under the system of joint electorates and reserved seats which will hereafter become operative under the terms of the Poona Pact. This is no mere speculation. The last election (1946) has conclusively proved that the Scheduled Castes can be completely disfranchised in a joint electorate"

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Dr. Ambedkar's fear became true. The joint electorates and reserved seats damaged the independent movement of the Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Castes were completely disfranchised. We can well imagine the fate of the disfranchised people in a democracy. A man of Dr. Ambedkar's calibre and stature failed to get himself elected to the Parliament twice, once in 1952 General Election from Bombay and again in 1954 by election from Bhandara in Central India. In both these elections, he was defeated by the little known nominees of the Congress of the High Caste Hindus.

Fortunately for us, there was Dr. Ambedkar to remedy the situation. As a result of changed strategy and tactics, the Scheduled Castes, could again establish a foothold during the 1957 general elections. But alas after that Dr. Ambedkar was not with us to carry this new strategy to the logical end. Besides after his Mahaparinirwana, the situation was further aggravated by the emergence of so many new varieties of the Chamchas. During his times, Dr. Ambedkar was to grapple with only the Chamchas of the Congress and of Scheduled Caste communities. But in the post-Ambedkar years, besides the Congress other parties also felt the need of creating their own chamchas not only from amongst the scheduled castes, but also from other commu-

nities. Thus large scale emergence of the various varieties of the chamchas.

(A) Caste and Community-wise Chamchas

The oppressed and exploited people of India who are about 85% of India's total population are leaderless lot. In fact the High Caste Hindus have succeeded in creating leaderlessness amongst them. Such a situation is most conducive for creating chamchas out of these castes and communities. Caste and Community-wise chamchas can be categorised as under :

(i) The Scheduled Castes—Reluctant Chamchas

The entire struggle of the Scheduled Castes during the 20th century abundantly indicates that they were struggling to enter the bright age, but were pushed into the Chamcha Age, by Gandhiji and his Congress. They are still smarting under pressure. They have not reconciled to the present position, but at the same time, are unable to get out of it. They, therefore, can be termed as reluctant chamchas.

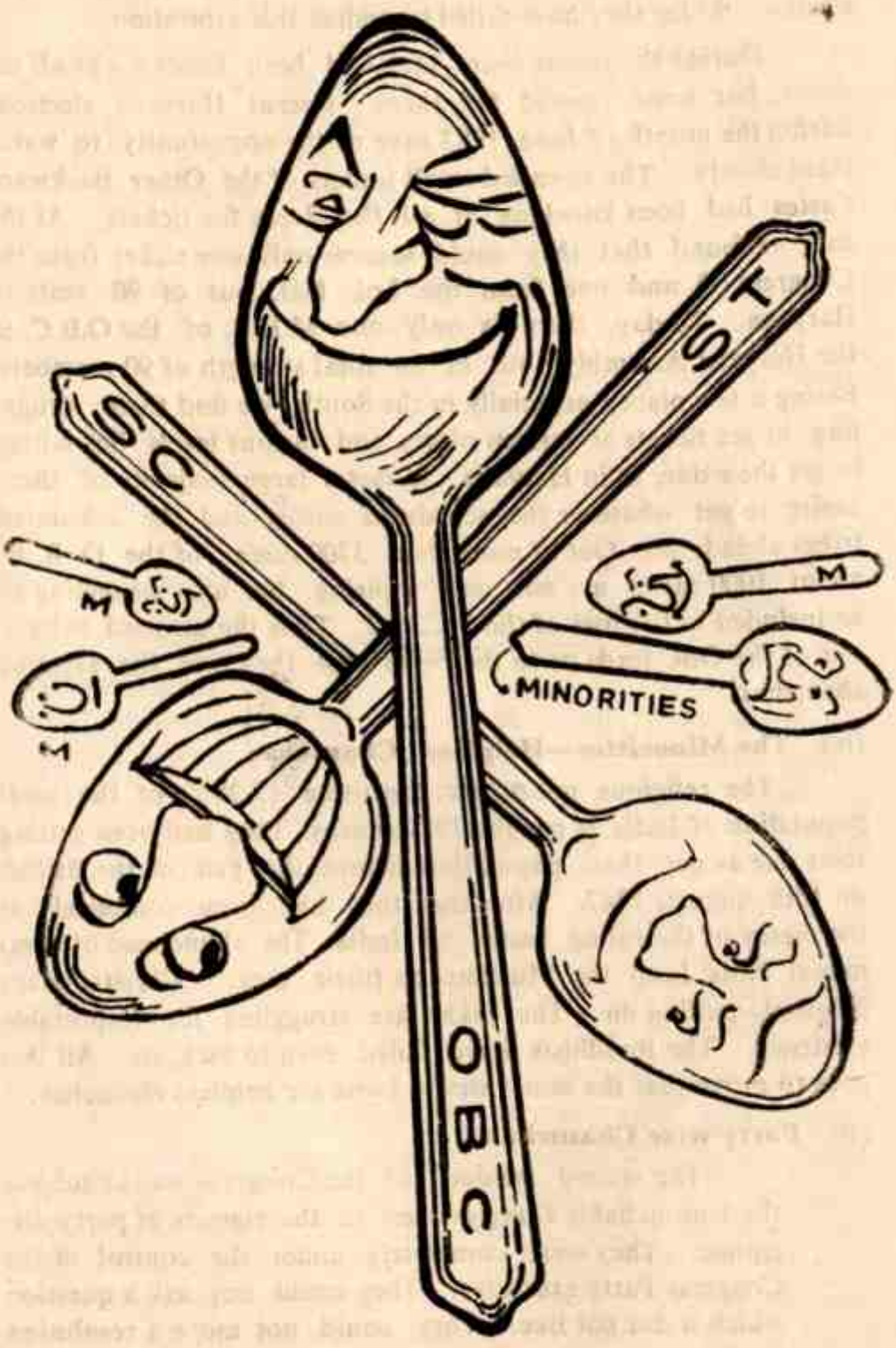
(ii) The Scheduled Tribes—Initiated Chamchas

The Scheduled Tribes are not known for struggles during the constitutional and modern development of India. During 1940's they also started getting recognition and rights along with the Scheduled Castes. As per the Constitution of India after 26th January, 1950, they got the same recognition and rights as the Scheduled Castes. They got all this as a result of the struggle of the scheduled castes which created both national and international opinion in favour of the oppressed and exploited Indians. Till to-day they are never represented in the Central Cabinet of India. But still they appear to be content with whatever they get. What is worse is that they are still under the impression that their oppressor and exploiter is their benefactor. They, thus, can be termed as initiated chamchas as they have been straightway initiated into the Chamcha Age.

(iii) The Other Backward Castes—Aspiring Chamchas.

After a long drawn struggle the Scheduled Castes along with the Scheduled Tribes got recognition and rights. As a result of all this, some of them have improved their prospects much beyond their calibre and capabilities. This improvement is most

The Chamcha Age



Various Varieties

apparent in the fields of Education, Public Services and politics. Such an improvement in the condition of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes has aroused aspirations in Other Backward Castes. So far they have failed to realize this aspiration.

During the recent years, they had been knocking at all the doors, but none opened for them. Recent Haryana elections during the month of June, 1982 gave us the opportunity to watch them closely. The so-called small leaders of the Other Backward Castes had been knocking at all the doors for tickets. At the end, we found that they could secure only one ticket from the Congress (I) and one from the Lok Dal, out of 90 seats in Haryana. To-day, there is only one M.L.A. of the O.B.C. in the Haryana Assembly, out of its total strength of 90 members. Baring a few places, especially in the South, we find them struggling to get tickets at various places and various levels but failing to get their due, as in Haryana. In fact a large majority of them aspire to get whatever the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes already got. Out of more than 3700 castes of the O. B. C. about 1000 castes are not only aspiring, but also struggling to be included in the lists of the S.C./S.T. Thus the alround behaviour of the OBC leads us to the belief that they are the aspiring chamchas.

(iv) **The Minorities—Helpless Chamchas**

The religious minorities constitute 17.28% of the total population of India as per the 1971 census. They had been getting their due as per their population before the exit of the British on 15th August, 1947. After that they had been completely at the mercy of the ruling castes of India. The abundance of communal riots keep the Muslims on their toes. Christians are helplessly pulling on. The Sikhs are struggling for respectable existence. The Buddhists have failed even to pick up. All this goes to prove that the minorities in India are helpless chamchas.

(B) **Party-wise Chamchas**

> "The second misdeed of the Congress was to subject the Untouchable Congressmen to the rigours of party discipline. They were completely under the control of the Congress Party executive. They could not ask a question which it did not like. They could not move a resolution it did not permit. They could not bring in legislation to

which it objected. They could not vote as they wished and could not speak what they felt. They were there as dumb-driven cattle. One of the objects of obtaining representation in the legislature for the untouchables is to enable them to ventilate their grievances and to obtain redress for their wrongs. The Congress successfully and effectively prevented this from happening."

"To end this long and sad story the Congress sucked the juice out of the Poona Pact and threw the rind in the face of the untouchables."

—**Dr. B.R. Ambedkar**

The helplessness of the Scheduled Caste Legislators had been described thus by Dr. Ambedkar in his famous book "What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables." This was so in 1945. During the coming years, we were to witness much worse and on wider scale. At that time there was only one party of the High Caste Hindus to behave thus and create chamchas out of the scheduled castes. But to-day, there are 7 National level parties and many State level and regional parties of the High Caste Hindus to create chamchas not only out of the scheduled castes, but also from all the oppressed and exploited communities of India. To-day all these parties of the High Caste Hindus are sucking juice and throwing rind at the face of these 85% oppressed and exploited Indians.

Thus, this party-wise creation of Chamchas has further aggravated the situation for us. Those who wish to grapple with the problem cannot ignore this aspect of the larger problem before them.

(C) **Ignorant Chamchas**

The oppressed Indians, especially the Depressed Classes had been struggling against injustice almost all over India. Most of the struggles remained local and regional. Keeping the population and size of the country in mind, we can say that those struggles were conducted almost in isolation, so much so, that they look like group struggles. In those group struggles, people knew only about their own struggle while remaining ignorant about other struggles of their brethren conducted elsewhere. This handicap of the depressed classes can be well imagined by

the fact that a large majority of the depressed classes remained absolutely ignorant about the life-long struggle of Dr. Ambedkar for these very depressed classes. Even today about 50% scheduled castes people in India are ignorant about the life and mission of Dr. Ambedkar.

Such large scale ignorance of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Castes was exploited by the High Caste Hindus. Taking advantage of their ignorance and other weaknesses the High Caste Hindus could easily create chamchas out of them. This variety can be termed as "ignorant chamchas." These ignorant chamchas were a big headache for Dr. Ambedkar during his life time. In his famous book "What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables", he had cited some examples. One such example of the ignorant untouchables is given below :

As per the Free Press Journal of 14.4.45, one Rai Bahadur Meharchand Khanna was reported to have said at a meeting of the untouchables at Peshawar on April 12, 1945 under the auspices of the Depressed Classes League.

"Your best friend is Mahatma Gandhi who even resorted to a fast for your sake and brought about the Poona Pact under which you have been enfranchised and given representation in local bodies and legislature. Some of you, I know, have been running after Dr. Ambedkar, who is just a creation of the British imperialists and who uses you to strengthen the hands of the British Government in order that India may be divided and the Britishers continue to retain power. I appeal to you in your interests to distinguish between self-styled leaders and your real friends."

Such being the ignorance of the depressed classes, the High Caste Hindus could easily mislead them. They could convincingly tell them that the usurper of their rights was their saviour. Thus a large mass of the depressed classes could be misled and ignorant chamchas could be created out of them.

(D) Enlightened Chamchas or Ambedkarite Chamchas.

We have taken note of the ignorant masses and how chamchas could be created out of them. But the most tragic part of the Chamcha Age is the enlightened chamchas or the

Ambedkarite chamchas. Dr. Ambedkar himself had pointed out how the ignorant masses were misled about the role of Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar in the struggles of the untouchables. We can understand the conduct of the ignorant masses. But what to do with the conduct of the enlightened people, especially enlightened by Dr. Ambedkar himself. These enlightened people must know about the role of Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar.

We were stunned to know that these enlightened chamchas formed a committee in Poona, about a year back to celebrate the Golden Jubilee occasion of the Poona Pact on 24th September, 1982. The preliminary committee constituted one year in advance included the General Secretary of the R.P.I., the Office bearers of the Dalit Panthers and some senior officers of Dr. Ambedkar's own enlightened community. Now knowing fully well the role of Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar leading to the Poona Pact, unlike their ignorant brethren of Peshawar, the enlightened people of Poona could not have even thought of celebrating the Golden Jubilee of Poona Pact. But these Ambedkarite chamchas were not only thinking, but also feverishly preparing for the Golden Jubilee occasion about a year in advance. What is still worst is that those who condemned Poona Pact in 1946 as advised by Dr. Ambedkar and led by Mr. R R. Bhole, were also preparing themselves to celebrate the Golden Jubilee occasion.

Keeping not only this, but also their alround conduct in mind and their persistence in stooging for crumbs over the last so many years, we have decided to term this variety as enlightened chamchas or the Ambedkarite chamchas. The evil effect as a result of their stooging have been narrated in separate chapter.

(E) Chamchas of the Chamchas

Political exigencies of the democratic set-up based on adult franchise forced the ruling castes of India to create chamchas out of the oppressed and exploted castes and communities of India. Thus, we see the abundance of chamchas at various levels of political operations.

The worth of these political chamchas is judged by their following in their respective castes. The chamchas operating at higher and bigger level cannot manage the big affairs on their own. They are, thus, required to create their own chamchas to

serve the ruling castes fully and faithfully. Besides this, the ever increasing numbers of the educated employees of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes provide a fertile field for creating such chamchas. The cunning amongst this class of the educated employees to secure undue favours and benefits from the political chamchas tend to stooge for them. The number of such persons is becoming larger with the passage of time. This class of the stooges can be termed as chamchas of the chamchas.

(F) Chamchas Abroad

As there is no independent movement of the oppressed Indians in India, the favourite and pampered chamchas of the past years are lying low. This low level of the chamchas in India touched the bottom after the 1980 parliamentary and assembly elections. This low level of the pampered chamchas in India was misunderstood by many untouchable opportunists living abroad as dearth of chamchas in India.

As if to fill this gap, many selfish and opportunist untouchables rushed to India. One such worthy from the U. S. A. was seen making vulgar efforts in and around Delhi, to fit himself as a chamcha of the ruling party. During his long stay in India, he got disillussioned and returned back to the U. S. A. to join the Congtess (I) of the New York City over there. All such selfish untouchables had to return back to their respective foreign countries almost disillusioned. I have chosen to take note of such abortive efforts only to point out that there are chamchas abroad hiding in the wings. They will again come out in the open as and when the independent movement of the oppressed Indians becomes strong in India.

EVIL EFFECTS OF THE CHAMCHA AGE

The Chamcha Age lasting over 50 years had affected the oppressed and exploited Indians very greatly. Starting with political effects, to-day, it has affected them in all the walks of life and spheres of human activity. All these effects of the Chamcha Age can be termed as evil, nothing but evil. The most dangerous evil affects are condensed in 7 categories and dealt with briefly in the following few pages. It is being done with the hope, that the affected Indians will search ways and means not only to seek solution from these evil effects, but also struggle to put an end to the Chamcha Age itself.

(1) Serious set-back to the Ambedkarite Movement

The oppressed Indians struggling all over India got the leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar around 1930. The struggles launched and conducted by him during the later years can be termed as Amedkarite movement or an independent movement of the Oppressed Indians. The immediate effect of the movement was that Dr. Ambedkar's leadership could secure, both Recognition and Rights for them during the Round Table Conferences of 1930-32. On 24th Sept. 1932 Gandhiji forced Poona Pact on the untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar could fore-see the consequences to the independent movement of the oppressed Indians led by him. But keeping in mind the helplessness of his people, he signed the Poona Pact with a hope to remedy the situation during the coming years.

After that upto 1956, he was there to counter the evil effects of the Chamcha Age—a product of the Poona Pact. Looking at this period of about 24 years, we can conclude that the task was too big even for his stature and calibre. During 1946, he had to go to Bengal even to get himself elected to the Constituent Assembly, whereas his party was squarely defeated all over India.

During the 1952 elections his party was again defeated. During the elections of 1952 and 1954, he himself was defeated by the little known nominees of the Congress of the High Caste Hindus.

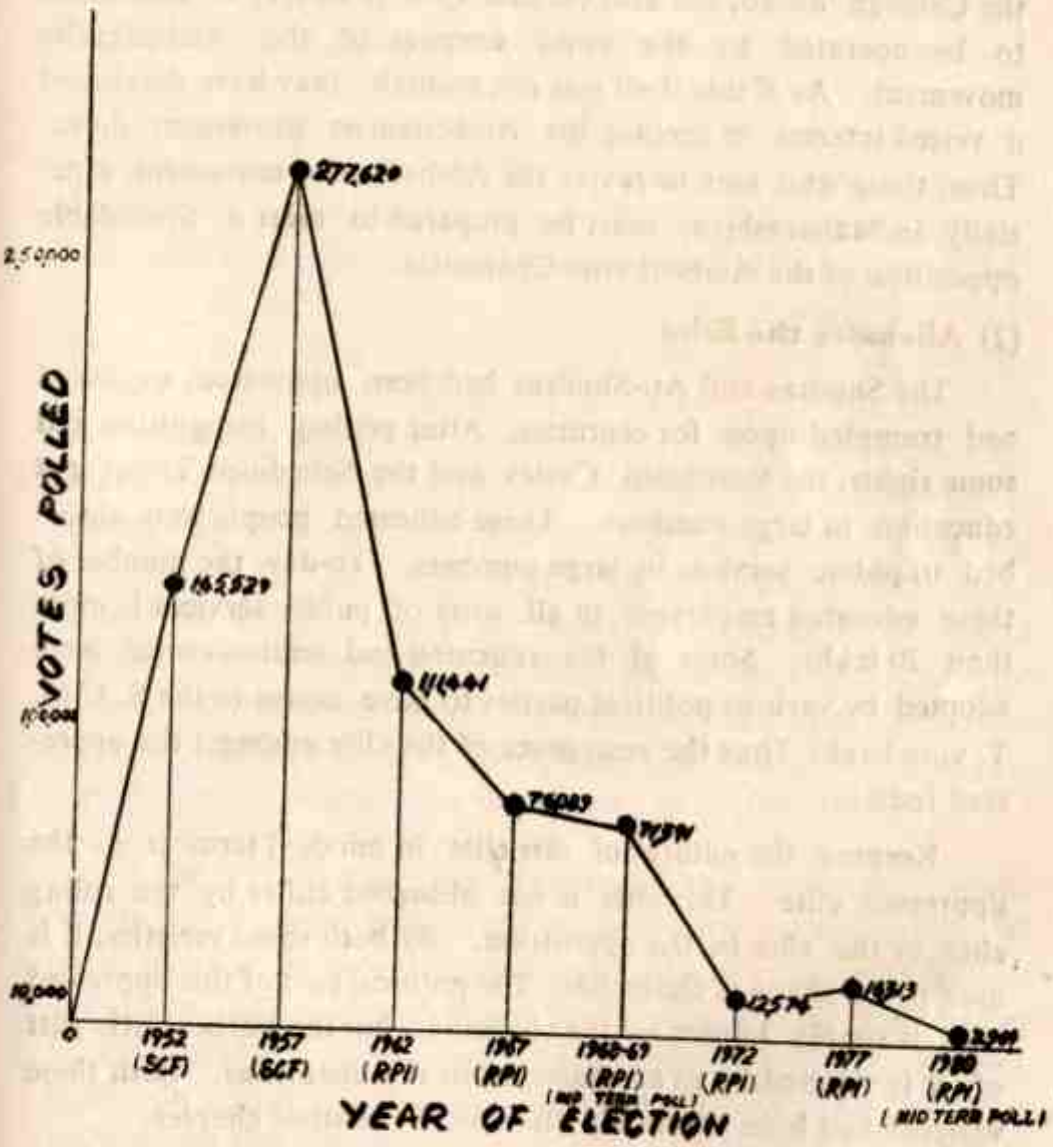
At the fag end of the period, he could largely overcome the evil effects of the Chamcha Age. Thus in the year of 1956, we could notice an upsurge in the Ambedkarite movement on almost all the fronts-social, economic, political and even religious. But, alas, after that he was not to be with us ! Perhaps sensing the end of his life, he left a very important message for his lieutenants and people :

"Whatever I have done, I have been able to do after passing through crushing miseries and endless troubles all my life and fighting with my opponents. With great difficulty, I have brought this Caravan where it is seen to-day. Let the Caravan march on despite the hurdles that may come its way. If my lieutenants are not able to take the Caravan ahead they should leave it there, but under no cirumstances should they allow the Caravan to go back. This is the message to my people."

But as we can clearly see and find, now in retrospect after 26 years, the caravan could not be taken ahead. Baba Saheb's lieutenants could not even keep it there, it slipped back so speedily that it almost crashed. The set-back to Ambedkarite movement is all round; socially, religiously and politically, the movement is almost non-existent.

Failure of the Ambedkarite movement caused divisions in all the organisations built by Baba Saheb Ambedkar. Politically R. P. I. is divided into about a dozen splinter groups, all quarrelling ? with each other. Dalit Panthers came and fell faster than the R. P. I. groupings. From 1952 to 1967 the political party whether S. C. F. or R. P. I. was recognised both in Maharashtra and the Punjab. Instead of advancing further to become an all India party, it slumped steeply. Because of a dozen divisions in Maharashtra the graphic representation of the political advance of Ambedkarite movement is not possible. To illustrate the political rise and fall of the Ambedkarite movement graph of its performance in Punjab is given here. In Punjab, there are no divisions

Rise & Fall of Ambedkarism in Punjab



The graph here showing the rise & fall of Ambedkarism is indicating the serious set-back to the Ambedkarite movement not only in the Punjab, but also all over India where ever it existed.

in the party, therefore, a graphic representation is possible. The graph in this book covers the period from 1952 to 1980 when last General Election was held in the Punjab.

The most tragic part of the Ambedkarite movement is that the lieutenants of Baba Saheb Ambedkar not only failed to carry the Caravan ahead, but also became a worst variety of Chamchas to be operated by the worst enemies of the Ambedkarite movement. As if this ifself was not enough, they have developed a vested interest in keeping the Ambedkarite movement down. Thus, those who seek to revive the Ambedkarite movement, especially in Maharashtra, must be prepared to meet a formidable opposition of the Ambedkarite Chamchas.

(2) Alienates the Elite

The Shudras and Ati-Shudras had been oppressed, exploited and trampled upon for centuries. After getting recognition and some rights, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes got education in large numbers. These educated people were absorbed in public services in large numbers. To-day the number of these educated employees in all sorts of public services is more than 20 lakhs. Some of the educated and semi-educated were adopted by various political parties to have access to the S. C./S. T. vote bank. Thus the emergence of the elite amongst the oppressed Indians.

Keeping the nature of this elite in mind, I term it as the oppressed elite. This elite is not absorbed either by the ruling elite or the elite in the opposition. By both these varieties, it is used in the shape of chamchas. The political part of this oppressed elite is simply known as the chamchas, but the bureaucratic part of it is termed by us as chamchas of the chamchas. Both these varieties had been separately discussed in another chapter.

Here, we are interested in stressing upon the fact, that both these varieties of the oppressed elite had been increasingly alienated from the general mass of the oppressed Indians. This oppressed elite is product of the concept of Protective Discrimination. This elite, therefore, tend to concentrate more on those items of Protective Discrimination to protect their own elite interests. A

vested interest in protective discrimination has developed and the struggle for the abolition of caste had been degenerated into demands for more and more concessions for the oppressed elite. The creators of these varieties of the chamchas, that is the ruling castes, find it in its own interest to encourage this alienation, for any real change in the status of the scheduled castes/scheduled tribes would disturb the existing status quo. Protective discrimination has therefore become a game played by both the ruling castes and their chamchas (oppressed elite) where each group has its own interest in preserving backwardness.

In this game of alienation of the oppressed elite, all the parties are maintaining their own chamchas from these oppressed communities. The maintaining of this small fraction had affected these oppressed community very adversely. Whereas the general lot of the S.C./S.T. communities over the last 35 years had been steadily deteriorating much faster than the general deterioration amongst the people, the lot of the chamchas (Oppressed elite) had been improving constantly, also at a much faster rate than the general condition of the country. Thus the High Caste Hindus have developed vested interest in playing this game of alienation of the elite. This alienation of the elite has reduced the general mass of the S.C./S.T. and other oppressed Indians to the level of bounden slaves. Over 90 % of these people are extremely hard-pressed even for honourable survival. Besides massive general deterioration in their living conditions, the cases of atrocities against them are increasing day by day and year after year.

In the rural India, a vast majority of the oppressed Indians remain heavily dependent on the landlords for their survival. It is not possible for them to fight oppression, for the alternative is starvation. Even a small assertion of independence can lead to joblessness which they dread. Where ever labour has organised, landlords have committed most gruesome atrocities, burning their huts, raping their women and sometimes even burning them to death. Only change in this exploitative rural economy could have liberated them. Govt. of the ruling caste is not interested in that. The oppressed villager cannot do it on his own, but the

oppressed elite which is in a position to do something have become alienated from the vast majority.

In the urban areas slums are increasing, foot-path dwellers are increasing. Who lives in there ? The multiplying multitudes of the S.C., S.T. and O.B.C. people, harassed by the feudal lords in the villages, landed in the lap of the slum lords of the cities. Prostitutes from these communities are over-crowding the red-light areas,nay, have come openly, not only on the roads, but also on the rail tracks of cities like Bombay. But the chamchas (oppressed elite) remain unconcerned to all this.

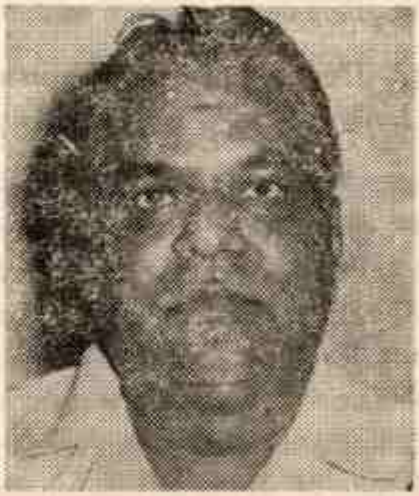
Endless amount of examples can be given from all over India to illustrate the process and extent of alienation of the elite. In this process not only a few individuals but the entire elite is involved. Even though we are not interested in citing such examples, but in the interest of clarity and credibility in proving our point, we are most reluctantly giving one example here with photographic illustration. This illustration involves Gavai families from Maharashtra. The illustration proves our point most convincingly. During the year 1974 the eyes of Mr Babruwan Gavai and his younger brother were gouged in an attempt to live honourably in their village where Babruwan's daughter gave birth to an illegitimate child produced by the village feudal lord. The incidence so much publicized at that time indicates the plight of the vast majority of the oppressed masses represented by the Gavai brothers.

On the other hand the oppressed elite from these persecuted communities are on the ascendency, be it political or bureaucratic part of the elite. During the same year of 1974 Mr. R.S. Gavai, president of R.P.I. was Dy. Chairman in the Maharashtra Council and Mr. P.G. Gavai was Home Secretary of the Maharashtra Govt. The alienation does not end there, the gulf kept widening. During the coming years, Mr. R.S. Gavai rose to be the Chairman of the Maharashtra Council and Mr. P.G. Gavai rose to be the Chief Secretary of the Govt. of Maharashtra whereas the miseries and the shame of Babruwan Gavai kept increasing with the passage of time.

Alienation in Action

The following 3 photographs convincingly convey the outcome of alienation, resulting in the unfortunate and drastically disproportionate growth of 3 segments of the S.C./S.T. communities (i) Politicians (ii) Bureaucrates (iii) General mass, repressented by 3 photographs.

During the year of incidence-74 Mr. R.S. Gavai, President, RPI was Dy. Chairman of the Maharashtra Council. Later, he rose to be the Chairman, Maharashtra Legislative Council.



During the year of unfortunate incidence-74, Mr. P. G. Gavai was Home Secretary of the Maharashtra Govt. Later, he rose to be Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Maharashtra.

During the year of 1974, the eyes of Mr. Babruwan Gavai and his younger brother were gouged in an attempt to live honourably in their village. Later, with the passage of time the miseries and the shame of Babruwan Gavai kept growing.

I again repeat that with a heavy heart I am forced to give this illustration in the interest of clarity and credibility in proving my point. I have no intention to malign any individual. Besides when such alienation can occur in Dr. Ambedkar's own community and in the state of Maharashtra, how much more can it be so in other communities and in other states, can well be imagined.

(3) Destroys and Discourages independent movement of the oppressed and the exploited

We have already seen that how the abundance of chamchas in our society had destroyed the Ambedkarite movement. Other smaller movements of the Scheduled Castes evaporated in the air. As an evil effect of the chamcha age the Scheduled Tribes could not develope political capacity to exercise political power for their own good. They seem to enjoy the chamcha age. They feel contended with whatever is given to them. It is no wonder that inspite of all the advancement over the years, there had been never an S.T. cabinet minister in the central cabinet. However, some refreshing development is that the tribals in the North East and Jharkhand part of the country are smarting under pressure.

The other Backward Castes (O.B.C.) appear to be the worst victims of the chamcha age. The most oppressed and exploited people of our society i.e. the S.C./S.T. got recognition on 17 Aug. 1932, along-with some rights. Since then they are getting more and more rights. But the O.B.Cs. are without Recognition and without Rights even up to date, eventhough 50 long years have lapsed. Dr. Ambedkar was exceedingly wise in insisting on recognition first, whereas Gandhiji was pressing for rights without recognition during the Round Table Conferences of 1930-32. Dr. Ambedkar got recognition for S.C./S.T. before the exit of the British. But during that period the O.B.Cs. left the matter to the good-will and sweet-will of the High Caste Hindus. To-day 36 years after the constitutional provision and inspite of Kaka Sahab Kalelkar and Mandal Commission, O.B.Cs. are without Recognition and without Rights. The O.B.Cs. claim that they are Nil. What a tragedy? What are massive evil effects of the chamcha age?

The Minorities are in shambles. The largest minority, the Muslims are worst victims of the endless and regularly recurring communal riots. Recently 45 MPs submitted their tale of troubles jointly through a memorandum to the Prime Minister. What to speak of redressal, they failed to get even a hearing from the Prime Minister. Sikhs led by Akali Dal are agitating against injustices of the chamcha age. The Christians and the Parsis used to be active, interested and involved in all the walks of life. But to-day they appear to be disillusioned, disinterested and resigned. No wonder, of late, some worthies from them started a Bombay based organisation for claiming *Right to Die*. They may or may not get the right to die, but the chamcha age has already killed the interest, sense of involvement and spirit in them.

(4) Creates Leaderlessness

The oppressed and exploited Indians need many things. But their most pressing need is leadership. Keeping in mind their population and enormity of problems, their requirement of leadership is both quantitative and qualitative. To accomplish such a mighty task, the leadership should be most capable and imaginative, interested and hard-working, knowledgeable and well informed, must have foresight and vision, patience and perseverance. Besides, the leadership should be sensible. It must have sense of timing, sense of priorities, sense of proportions and all other senses to meet the requirements of the mighty task. But unfortunately the Brahminical system over the last so many centuries had never allowed these qualities to be developed in the Shudras and the Ati-Shudras. Even to-day the High Caste rulers of India are not allowing these qualities to be developed. The chamchas are given opportunities and encouragements. But the real leaders are not only denied opportunities and encouragements, but are also subjected to all sorts of hardships and handicaps. All this has created leaderlessness amongst them.

(5) Kills the spirit of revolt

For centuries, the Shudras and Ati-Shudras had remained the worst slaves known to the world. During the British rule, under the influence of Western education and culture, they revolted

against the Brahminical Culture almost all over India. Now under the rule of the high Caste Hindus such a revolt is discouraged. On the other hand the chamchas are created and encouraged. Enormity of the task and alround failure of the genuine leadership is almost killing the spirit of revolt. The danger is of reconciliation with the chamcha age.

(6) Makes Democracy meaningless

Everywhere in the world democracy means rule of the majority. But in India 85% people are ruled by 10 to 15% Higher Castes. Out of the 85% people 52% are without recognition and rights. In our democracy, they are helpless to do anything on their own. The minority seems to have consolidated the minority rule by creating chamchas out of the majority. Thus the chamcha age has made the democracy meaningless in India.

(7) Keeps the country poor and backward

India is a huge country with enormous land, water, mineral and human resources, scientifically and technically advanced. With all this, it is the most poor and backward country in the world. This is the worst evil effect of the chamcha age. Because, if a minority is to rule over majority it must keep the majority ignorant, helpless, poor and backward. Thus in their anxiety to keep the majority ignorant and helpless, the ruling castes have managed to keep the country poor and backward.

CHAMCHAS (STOOGES) IN THE SOUP

Stooges (Chamchas) on the ascendancy

"When I opposed Mr. Gandhi in Round Table Conferences, there was a hue and cry against me in the country and there was conspiracy in the so called nationalist press to suppress correspondence coming from my side and to boost the propaganda against my party by publishing exaggerated reports of meetings and Conferences, many of which were never held. 'Silver Bullets' were freely used for creating division in the ranks of the depressed classes. There have been also a few clashes ending in violence."

—Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

This being Dr. Ambedkar's experience during the Round Table Conferences of 1930-32, held in England, was to become a regular feature not only during his life time, but also almost all the times to come. Black-out and black-mail by the so called national press of the news and views of the genuine and independent leadership and struggle of the oppressed and exploited Indians is a regular feature, faced by all in the past and by us at present. It must remain so for the future. Use of force, strong-arm method and violence against the struggles of the oppressed is not only a matter of the past, but also occur abundantly to-day in almost every walk of life, as and when the weaker sections tend to raise their voice or head.

On the other hand, un-wanted, un-deserving favourable propaganda for the stooges is a regular feature of the chamcha age. "Silver Bullets" of 1930-32 have been replaced by "Paper Bullets" at present. The massive use or abuse of "Paper Bullets" is having a deadly effect on the movement of the oppressed, so much so, it is as bad as killed. "Silver Bullets" used to cause division in the ranks of the depressed classes, but the "Paper Bullets" have reduced them all to one rank, the rank of a chamcha. For many years chamchas appeared to be on the ascendancy.

After the exit of the British, the emergence of many political parties and the adult franchise gave big boost to the chamchas. Upto 15th August, 1947 only the Congress had become expert in creating and maintaining chamchas. But after that the newly formed parties, benefiting from the expertise of the Congress, created their own chamchas. Thus within 10 to 15 years, we found every party having its own set of chamchas to have access to the Vote Banks of the oppressed and exploited Indian masses.

Reservation in Legislatures and public services gave additional boost to the ascendancy of the chamchas, especially of the S.C./S.T. variety. In the legislatures, none also could contest the seats reserved for the S.C./S.T. Every party was forced to adopt candidates only of S.C./S.T. origin for the reserved seats, whether they like it or not. Thus abundance of chamchas in the political field. The growth of our Republic after 1950 created millions of new jobs in the public services and the public sector. This growth gave big boost to the chamchas especially seeking undue favours.

These armies of the chamchas were having happy times for about 25 years, say up to 1975. The happy conditon of the chamchas lured many a shaky leaders of the independent movements of the oppressed, so much so that the Ambedkarite movement was almost destroyed.

Chamchas in the soup

At this stage, around 1976, the economic concept of supply and demand had a political effect. The destruction of the independent movement of the oppressed reduced their shaky leadership to the level of chamchas. Thus the availability of the chamchas was in abundance. On the other hand, with the destruction of the independent movement of the oppressed, the need for maintaining chamchas was very greatly reduced. This created a great competition. During this competition Ambedkarite chamchas succeeded in throwing out of the market a large set of traditional chamchas. Shortly after that even Ambedkarite chamchas started landing in soup one by one.

Thus, to-day we find only light-weight chamchas in the market, whereas all the heavy weight-chamchas have landing in soup one by one. But the danger persists. With the re-emergence of the independent movement of the oppressed, the demand for the heavy-weight chamchas will increase, till then they must remain in the soup.

PART-IV

THE WAY OUT

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AMBEDKAR'S EFFORTS

Ambedkar could anticipate

"Things will be much worse under the system of joint electorates and reserved seats which will hereafter become operative under the terms of the Poona Pact. This is no more speculation. The last election (1946) has conclusively proved that the Scheduled Castes can be completely disfranchised in a joint electorate."

—Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

"The joint electorate is from the point of the Hindus to use a familiar phrase a "rotten borough" in which the Hindus get the right to nominate an untouchable to set nominally as a representative of the untouchable but really as a tool of the Hindus."

—Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

From the above two quotations, it is abundantly clear that Baba Saheb Ambedkar could clearly anticipate the outcome of the Poona Pact. Being a constitutional expert and a democrat, he could well imagine the fate of the disfranchised people in a democracy based on adult franchise. He could also anticipate the fate of the people whose representatives were not real representatives, but mere tools in the hand of their age-old enemies. It was the helplessness of his people at that time that forced him to sign the Poona-Pact under the coercive effects of Gandhiji's fast. At that time, he must have thought of the times when the depressed classes would be less helpless to take up the challenge and fight for their due. At any rate, he was there with us for 24 years to fight the evil effects of the Chamcha age.

Educate ! Agitate !! Organise !!!

To meet the challenge of the chamcha age, he could develope various ways and means. The best of all such ways and means was to prepare his people through the well-planned concept of **Educate, Agitate, Organise.** He thought that his people could

be kept slaves for long time because of their ignorance. He, therefore, sought to eliminate ignorance through education. The various types of efforts made by him to educate and enlighten his people are there for all of us to see. The outcome of all those efforts is also so glaringly visible. The various types of struggles launched by him to meet the challenge of chamcha age have become a legend by now. The organisations developed by him to meet the challenge in an organised manner are also so familiar to all of us.

Separate Settlements

Keeping in mind the helplessness of his people that forced the Poona-Pact on them he developed another concept to remove their helplessness. It was menifested in the idea of **Separate Settlements** for his people. He thought of eliminating their minority status in the villages, by way of creating separate settlements for them, where they would be in majority. Thus, being in majority in such separate settlements, they could have elected their real representatives to the legislatures. Besides, these separate settlements were designed to improve their economy. But unfortunately when the British decided to quit India after the IInd World War, this idea of separate settlements could not be taken up with the new rulers.

Denunciation of the Poona-Pact

When the idea of Separate Settlements could not materialise, Dr. Ambedkar again thought of **Separate Electorates** to meet the challenge of the chamcha age. For this, he not only denounced Poona Pact, but also launched a massive agitation against it in 1946. During the year of 1947, he submitted an elaborate memorandum to the Constituent Assembly pleading for separate electorates.

Not only this, he kept up propaganda against the chamcha age. He availed each and every opportunity to do that. Even to-day we are guided by that propaganda, available to us, especially through the following 3 books :—

(i) Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables.
(ii) What Congress & Gandhi have done to the Untouchables.
(iii) States and Minorities.

Making the Movement broad-based

After the exit of the British in 1947, Baba Saheb Ambedkar forgot about **Separate Electorates** and **Separate Settlements**, but on the other hand tried to broad-base the movement. Many instances can be sighted but the following 3 efforts will prove the point :

(1) At the Scheduled Castes Conference at Lucknow on 25th April, 1948, Baba Saheb Ambedkar made the first serious effort in this direction. The following quote from his Lucknow speech will prove the point.

"...I then turned to the question of unity between the Scheduled Castes and the so-called Backwad Classes. This I did at the request of the leaders of the Backward Classes who were present at the conference. I said it was a pity that the two classes whose needs were common did not join together. The reason was that the Backward Classes did not like to associate themselves with the Scheduled Castes because they were afraid that such an association will bring themselves down to the level of the Scheduled Castes.

I said that I was not anxious to establish inter-dining and inter-marriage between the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes. They may well remain separate social entities. There is no reason why they should not join hands to form a political party to remove their backward condition. I pointed out how the Scheduled Castes have improved their condition by playing their part in the politics of the country and there is no reason why the Backward Classes should not do the same.

I said that the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes form majority of the population of the country. There is no reason why they should not rule this country. All that is necessary is to organise for the purpose of capturing political power—which is your own because of adult suffrage. People do not seem to buck up courage because they are overwhelmed by the belief that the Congress Government is there for ever. I said this is a wrong impression. In a popular democracy no Government is permanent and not even the Government established by the two of the tallest Congressmen, Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. If you organise you can even capture that Government."

(2) The second serious effort was made in 1951, when Baba Saheb Ambedkar visited Patna on the invitation of the Backward Class leaders to form a single party for S.C. & O.B.C. But the move was defeated by Pandit Nehru by offering one chair to the O.B.C. leader and by using "Paper Bullets" to attract the greedy amongst them.

(3) The third and the last most serious effort was made by him to bring not only the S.C. & O.B.C. under one banner but also all the oppressed and exploited Indians whom we to-day call Dalit-Shoshit Samaj under the umbrella of a single political party. But unfortunately, he left us on Dec. 6, 1956, before translating the ideal into action.

POST-AMBEDKAR POSITION

During the last days of Baba Saheb Ambedkar, while pushing ahead his plans and programmes, he was very much worried about the future without him. He was not sure about the capacity, sincerity and devotion of his lieutenants to carry the Caravan ahead, after him. We get a glimpse of such doubts from his last message, ".....If my lieutenants are not able to take the Caravan ahead they should leave it there, but under no circumstances should they allow the Caravan to go back. This is the message to my people."

The inevitable happened. After the sad demise of Baba Saheb Ambedkar on 6th Dec. 1956, his lieutenants made feeble efforts almost on all the fronts. Their failures on all the fronts are there for all of us to see.

The set-back to the Ambedkarite movement, reduced many of his selfish, greedy and insincere lieutenants to the worst variety of Chamchas. They divided themselves into two halves. Half of them took to stooging directly by entering Congress and other parties. Another half thought it more profitable to stooge indirectly, by forming small groups out of the organisations created by Baba Saheb Ambedkar.

This, in nut-shell, is the sad story of the Post-Ambedkar period.

GENUINE & CAPABLE LEADERSHIP

To-day, whether to meet the challenge of the chamcha age or to put an end to the chamcha age and usher in bright age for the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj, the most pressing need is of **genuine and capable leadership.**

All of us know that Baba Saheb Ambedkar while himself leading us towards the bright age, managed to create for us the opportunities for higher education. His strong belief was that only highly educated leaders can meet the challenge of the chamcha age. The following extracts from the Kaka Saheb Kalelkar report will prove the point :

"**Q. 1 :—** What according to you, constitutes backwardness as it applies to the situation in India ?

Dr. Ambedkar :— Supposing I am left in the situation to do something for the betterment and advancement of India, I would look at the social status of the community. Here in India people have got different status—some are in the highest position, some are in the middle, some are still less and some are at the bottom. Our problem is not so much to distribute wealth in order to make everybody happy ; our problem is that different status should disappear. It can disappear only by advancement of education, when all the communities are brought to the same level in the matter of education, not everybody but the community as such. If there are 10 barristers, 20 doctors, 30 engineers etc. in a community, I regard that community as rich, although every one of them is not educated. Take for instance, chamars, you look upon this community with hatred, but if there are some lawyers, doctors, engineers and educated persons among them, you cannot put your hand upon them.....

Q. 5 :— What remedy would you suggest for the speedy removal of the backwardness of so many communities in India that are suffering from age-old social backwardness and educational apathy ?

Dr. Ambedkar :— I have suggested that if you produce big people from amongst them, the backwardness would go. The backwardness is only a sort of inferiority complex."

In a lengthy reply to question 4, his answer was that for removing backwardness it was essential to produce highly quali-

fied and educated persons amongst them and then put them in key posts. They could control any wrong being done.

As late in his life as 1954, Baba Saheb had been having such views. But within 2 years, our dear Doctor was to detect the worst disease, then, instead of praise, he was to condemn these highly educated men of status, occupying key posts. His condemnation of these highly qualified men of status, occupying key posts was open and public, during a very well attended public meeting on 18th March, 1956 at Agra. After this detection of the disease, during the coming 8 months left for him, he could neither diagnose nor find remedial measures.

In 1954, Dr. Ambedkar was thinking of 10 lawyers, 20 doctors and 30 engineers. But during the coming years the number of such highly qualified persons swelled to lakhs. Because of the opportunities created by Dr. Ambedkar, they got key posts and acquired status. Very unfortunately, along with this increase, the disease spread and became an epedemic. This epedemic killed the very thought of Baba Saheb Ambedkar which he had been entertaining and nourishing over the years. The product of his dream and efforts, the highly educated persons of status, occupying key posts, instead of becoming a boon, became a curse for their oppressed and exploited communities, in fact, for the entire Dalit-Shoshit Samaj. Instead of controlling the wrongs being done to their communities, they became the cause for many additional wrongs.

In the absence of Baba Saheb Ambedkar, his lieutenants were helpless. They simply ignored the epedemic. Much worse, most of them became a part and parcel of it. Around 1973, some highly educated employees could themselves diagnose the disease and later named it **"Alienation of the elite."** The disease and its evil effects had been dealt with in a separate chapter. As a cure **BAMCEF** was developed. The basic objective of **BAMCEF** is "Pay back to the oppressed and exploited society."

BAMCEF has partly cured the disease, by way of securing a partial check over the alienation of the elite. In future, it is likely to become a perfect and permanent cure by becoming a perennial source of **Genuine & Capable leadership.**

SHORT-TERM SOLUTION (SOCIAL ACTION) D-S_4

After making arrangements for the **genuine & capable leadership** which could take care of even the worst disease like the alienation of the elite, we come to the problem. To solve the problem of the chamcha age successfully, we should split it in 3 parts as under :

(i) To meet the challenge of the chamcha age.

(ii) To put an end to the chamcha age.

(iii) To usher in bright age.

Now after splitting the problem systematically and suitably, we can solve the problem one by one. To my mind, by tackling the problem one by one, we can complete the task within 10 years. The solutions for these 3 parts can be termed as (i) Short-term, (ii) Long-term, and (iii) Durable. These solutions are briefly discussed in 3 separate chapters.

Social Action

The Dalit-Shoshit Samaj is lying low and reconciled to its lowly status. It is a huge section of our society. Thus, the lowly and backward status of this huge section of our society is keeping the country low and backward. This huge section must be awakened, aroused and put in action. Such action of this huge section of society, after its awakening and arousal may be termed as **Social Action.**

Preparation for Social Action

(i) Creating Awakening to induce arousal

To awaken this huge section of our society many thoughtful measures are required to be taken. Such thoughtful measures may be of 2 types :- (a) general (b) specific, based on issues.

(a) General measures may be on social, economic, political, religious and cultural aspects. Why such wide ranging measures are required ? It is because the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj is in the dark on all such fronts. To enlighten them, awakening on all

these fronts is a must. Untill and unless, they are awakened, they cannot be aroused, unless they are aroused, they cannot be involved. So to involve them such wide-range awakening is a must.

It is for this large scale need of awakening on all the fronts that we are attaching so much importance to our awakening squads. Our awakening squads in almost all the major languages of India, cater to this need of awakening. Our awakening squads are trained to enlighten the suppressed society on all such fronts. Keeping in mind the long standing laziness of the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj, the method used by our awakening squads is enlightening and awakening while entertaining.

(b) Specific measures to create awakening are based on issues. For example, to spread Ambedkarite thought, Ambedkar Mela on Wheels was conducted; to throw light on the chamcha age, Poona Pact was denounced; to form habit of using our own little resources in a big way, the 4200 kms. long Bicycle Prachar Yatra is to be undertaken. Specific measures are required to throw light on the atrocities committed on the S.C./S.T. The non-implementation of the rules, regulations, plans, projects, programmes and laws meant for S.C./S.T. cannot be tackled without the mass support and mass support cannot be secured without resorting to specific measures for awakening, enlightening and arousing the concerned masses. The poor response for securing the implementation of the Mandal Commission Report is for lack of specific measures being taken for arousing the concerned masses.

(ii) Keeping the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj in Action

The problems of the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj are many and on all the fronts. To tackle those problems with the help of the concerned masses, they must be awakened, aroused and put into action. By putting them in action accasionally will not solve all those problems. They, therefore, must always be kept in action.

(iii) Mild to Wild Action

By and large social action should be mild, but continuous without any break. It may be in one form or another, may be for one cause or another. To make it meaningful and effective, occasionally it will have to be wild, but non-violent. It will all depend upon the types of struggles.

Examples of the Planned Social Action

To understand **Social Action** fully and for the benefit of those activists who will be required to make the social action effective and successful in future, it is essential to give a few examples. The following 5 examples of the planned social action of **the past, the present** and **the future** will be useful, both fo making the general public understand social action and preparin the activists to conduct social action effectively and successfully.

The Past

(i) Ambedkar Mela on Wheels

After shifting our H.Q. to Delhi, we noticed that in the surrounding states of Delhi our people were ignorant about the life and mission of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. Those who were not ignorant and interested in the mission, were feeling demoralised because of alround failure of the Ambedkarite mission. To remove this ignorance and demoralisation, a social action in the form of Ambedkar Mela on Wheels was planned. It was conducted for 2 months, from 14-4-1980 to 14-6-1980, all around Delhi covering 9 states. After the successful conduct of this social action, ignorance and demoralisation gave way to a new awakening and enthusiasm in all the 9 states surrounding Delhi. Our present success is deeply rooted in the successful conduct of that social action named Ambedkar Mela on Wheels.

The Present

(ii) Denunciation of the Poona Pact

The Chamcha age is a product of the Poona-Pact. To focus attention on the chamcha age, the Poona-Pact was denounced on the occasion of its 50th Anniversary. An elaborate programme of denunciation was planned and conducted from 24th Sept. to 24th Oct. 1982 starting from Poona and ending at Jullunder. As a result of this planned social action, to-day almost entire Dalit-Shoshit Samaj, all over India is awakened and aroused against the chamcha age. Such awakening and arousal will greatly help us in meeting the challenge of the chamcha age.

(iii) People's Parliament

It was thought that the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj was not adequately represented in the parliament and what ever representation is there, it is in the form of Chamchas who cannot be expected to represent them fully and faithfully. To make up this deficiency, on 25th Dec. 1982 People's Parliament will be launched in Delhi. From Delhi it will move to places all over India, discussing and debating the

problems of the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj. Such a social action is expected to focus attention on the burning issues which are not debated in the National Parliament. Besides, it will be a constant reminder for us to make the National Parliament, a really representative parliament.

(iv) Miracle of two feet and two wheels

In terms of resources, Dalit-Shoshit Samaj cannot compete with the ruling Castes. But to get their due, it must not only compete, but also defeat the ruling Castes successfully. For this purpose, resources will be required. Dalit-Shoshit Samaj, therefore, must learn to use its small and little resources in a big way. This way, it can match the opponents. To conduct one such experiment the use of bicycle in a big way is planned. As per the present plan, about 100 cyclists will start from Delhi on 15th March, 1983 and during 40 days period, they will propagate the thought in 7 states around Delhi, while covering a distance of 4200 kms. Thus, by this type of social action, bicycle can be used in a big way not only for propaganda, but also for electioneering and show of strength.

The Future

(v) Efforts for equality

On Dec. 6, 1983, D-S4, the organisation for social action, will be 2 years young. On that occasion the youthful D-S4 is planning to launch an extensive and massive social action. This social action will be for equality.

While addressing the Constituent Assembly on 25th Nov., 1949 Baba Saheb Ambedkar spoke thus :

"On 26th January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. . . . How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions ? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life ? . . . "

As all of us know that all along over the last 32 years, we had been living this life of contradictions. If anything, the gap of inequality has further widened. It has caused almost irreparable loss to the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj. To put an end to this inequality, an extensive and a massive social action is a must. This social action will unfold itself after the 6th Dec., 1983 when it is planned to be launched.

D-S4—An organisation for Social Action

In our mission, we believe in doing things in an organised manner. D-S4 is our organisation for social action. All future social actions will be planned, designed and conducted by D-S4.

LONG-TERM SOLUTION (POLITICAL ACTION)

As **Social Action** was found necessary to meet the challenge of the chamcha age, **Political Action** is our solution for putting an end to the chamcha age. But on the other hand, we understand that the chamcha age is the product of present day political activity. The exit of the British on 15th August, 1947, resulted in the transfer of power to the High Caste Hindus. But before the transfer of power, the seeds for adult franchise were already sown. The seeds sprouted and by the time India became a Republic, with a constitution of its own, it resulted in the build-up of a huge Vote-Bank of the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj.

All this created a very peculiar situation. In a democratic set-up, adopted by us, the High Caste Hindus could not rule India without the consent of the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj. Thus, to have access to this Vote-Bank, the ruling Castes required the help of the chamchas. All this has been elaborated in a separate chapter. But our problem here is that we need a **Political Action** to uproot the product of the present day political activity. Such a political action, therefore, will have to be altogether different from the present day political activity available to us.

Present political activity & its outcome

To build-up the required political activity of our own, we must know and understand the present day political activity and its outcome. After the exit of the British, the high caste Hindus started sharing power amongst them. The political and the bureaucratic power fell into the hands of the Brahmins. The S.C./S.T. got 22.5 % reservation; eventhough their representatives remained chamchas in the hands of the ruling Castes. In the bureaucratic machine, they got opening at various levels. For the last 20 years, they are getting their full quota in the top administrative services of the Centre.

O.B.C.—The worst sufferers

But the worst sufferers are the Other Backward Castes (O.B.C.). After the exit of the British, they got alround setback. Their share, in both the political and administrative power, had been almost entirely eaten by the higher castes, especially the Brahmins. As per Mandal Commission Report O.B.C. population

is 52 % of the total population of India. On the other hand, the population of the Brahmins and Kshatriyas is about 8 to 9 % of the total. But in the present parliament, these 8 to 9 % people are represented by 52 % M.Ps., whereas the 52% O.B.C. people are represented by 8 to 9 % M.Ps. In a parliamentary democracy such representation makes all the difference. As a result of this imbalance, the entire power structure is grossly tilted against the O.B.C. To illustrate such a gross tilt at all the important levels 2 charts are presented in this very chapter. The outcome of the entire present day political activity can be well understood from these charts.

Tamil Nadu & U.P.—A study in contrast

Regarding the position of O.B.C. to-day Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh present a study of contrast. In Tamil Nadu the O.B.C. get its full quota in both political and administrative spheres. It keeps increasing with the passage of time. Whereas in U.P., the O.B.C. are worst-placed. As per the latest election of May-June 1980, politically one Brahmin was equivalent to 23 backward persons. As per U.P. Govt. the percentage of gazetted officers of O.B.C. in 1946, 1955 and 1960 stood at 0 80, 0.47, 0.70 respectively. From this contrast, we can learn a lot for buiding our own political activity.

Political Party of our own

To-day in India, we have 7 National level political parties. All these 7 parties are led by the High Caste Hindus. They control the affairs of their parties in a manner to perpetuate high caste rule. Dalit-Shoshit Samaj is helpless inspite of 85% votes at their disposal. It is widely felt that we must have our own political party. In the past some efforts were made, but without success.

Recently we have conducted some experiments towards building such a party. Such experimentations known as **Limited Political Action** will be further conducted till we feel sure of forming a political party of National level on our own. Through such a political party of the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj **Political Action** for putting an end to the chamcha age will be launched.

Chart indicating the Political and Bureaucratic grip of the Brahmins over India of to-day

Posts	Total No.	No. of Brahmins alone	% age of Brahmins alone
Union Cabinet Ministers	19	10	53
Private Secretaries to Ministers—Cabinet, State & Deputy	49	34	70
Secretary, Addl. Secretary, Joint Secretary and their equivalent at the Centre	500	310	62
Chief Secretaries to State Govts.	26	14	54
Governer/Lt. Governer	27	13	50
Secretary to Governer/ Lt. Governer	24	13	54
Supreme Court Judges	16	9	56
High Court Judges and Addl. High Court Judges	330	166	50
Ambassadors/High Comissioners	140	58	41
Vice Chancellors	98	50	51
Chief Executives of Public Sector Undertakings coming under SCOPE			
(a) Centre	158	91	57
(b) State	17	14	82
I.A.S. Officers (bottom to top)	3300	2000	61

Percentage of Brahmins in Parliament

Lok Sabha	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980
% age of Brahmin to	173/499	230/490	210/510	192/523	178/523	136/542	190/530
a. Total Population and	35	47	41	37	34	25	36
b. Population excluding Scheduled Castes & Tribes	45	61	53	48	44	32	48

Rajya Sabha	1952	1957	1960	1964	1968	1970	1974	1978	1980
% age of Brahmins	70/216 27	108/232 47	115/236 49	102/238 43	104/230 45	113/238 50	112/240 47	84/244 34	89/244 36

DURABLE SOLUTION (CULTURAL CHANGE & CONTROL)

In the last 2 chapters we have concluded that (i) to meet the challenge of the chamcha age, we need Social Action and (ii) to put an end to the chamcha age, we need Political Action. But to usher in **Bright Age**, will be the toughest task before us, before this generation or even before the coming generations. It will need a complete cultural change and an altogether different control. Only such change can bring about durable solution.

The real and basic problem

In India, our real and basic problem is social, religious and cultural. Everything else is outcome of this basic problem. The chamcha age is just a minor outcome of this major basic problem.

In India, we have a religion of the Shastras, having peculiar religious notions. The religious notions, not only dominate, but also make the culture. The domination of these religious notions has resulted in creating a peculiar culture which can be termed as the **Culture of the Castes**. In other countries, they say religion is personal but culture is common. Thus, they can be separate. But in India, both are one and the same thing.

Caste—Crux of the problem

Dr. Ambedkar had written 2 major essays on the Caste, namely :

(i) "Castes in India, their origin and their mechanism."

(ii) "Annihilation of Caste."

Leaving aside his crusade against caste and his other writings on it, even on the basis of these two essays, he can be considered the greatest authority on caste. As per his thought Caste System is a Social System which embodies the arrogance and selfishness of a perverse section of the Hindus who were superior enough in social status to set it in fashion and who had authority to force it on their inferiors. To enforce such a degrading social system very harsh penal sanctions were required which were provided by the Manu Smriti.

Caste system made the Hindus sickmen of India and their sickness affected the health and happiness of other Indians. This

became a major problem for all the Indians. Much has been said against this evil system by many, much more can be said. But here, we should conclude by saying that the caste had been the problem of the Indians in the past, it still remains a crux of the problem to-day.

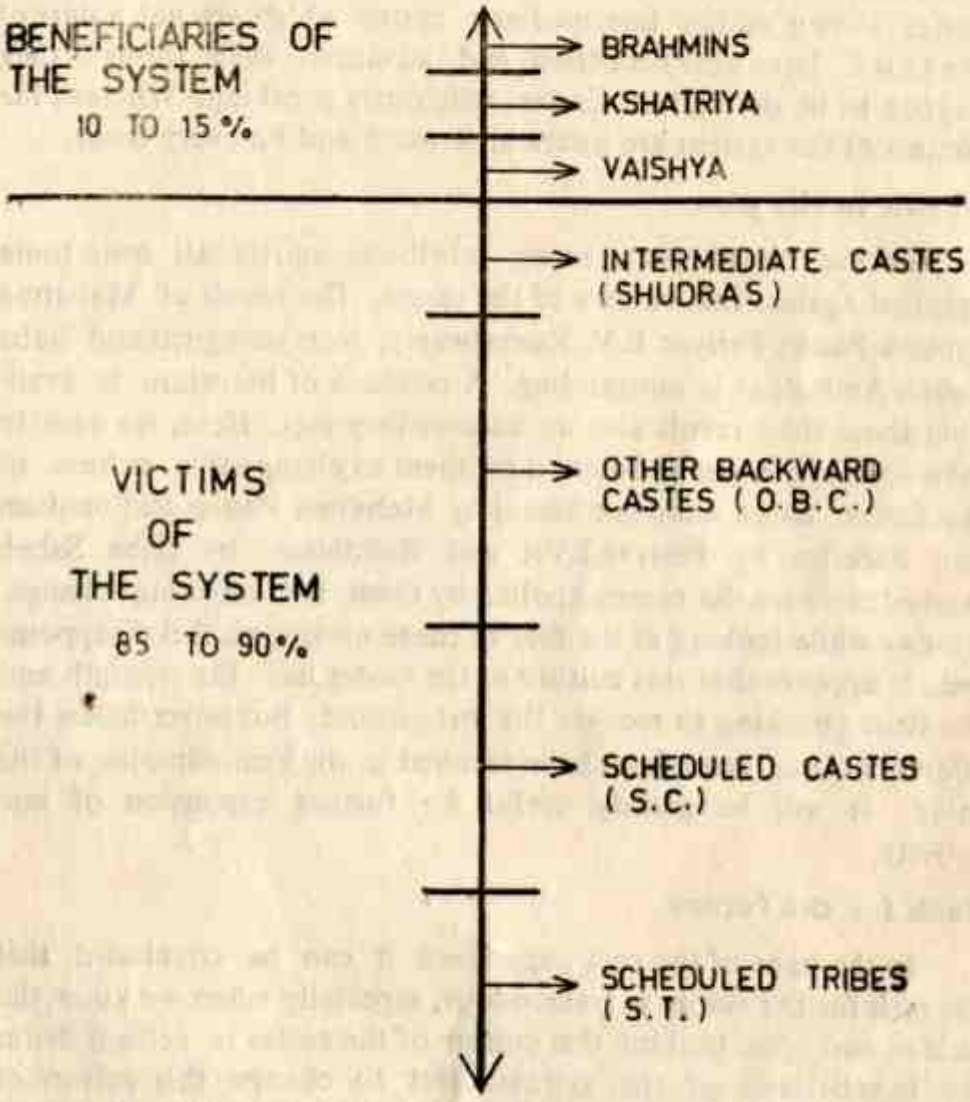
In the past caste was paraded openly and caste restrictions observed very strictly. For long time, the high status of a caste was a paying proposition. During the middle of the 19 th century, revolt against this evil system was initiated. It spread in the 1 st half of the 20th century, so much so that by 1950, it started becoming a double-edged sword cutting both ways. The High caste Hindus sensed the danger, so much so that they got the caste column removed from the census records. So, to-day for any authentic and recorded information regarding caste, we are required to look back to the 1931 census.

To-day caste is very much there. But it is in the disguised form. The ruling Castes, being in minority, do not speak much about it, but are in a position to practise it secretly and favourably to their own castes. Not only that, it has become fashion with the ruling castes to speak against it openly and practise it secretly, especially to retain the levers of the power in their hand. Look at the performance of Nehru, he got 47% Brahmins elected to the Lok Sabha during the height of his regime during the 1957 Parliamentary polls. Along with the 22.5% reserved quota of the S. C./S. T. in Lok Sabha of the parliament; Nehru ji kept ruling India and Indians majesticallv. But by 1980 the caste equation changed, especially when a Scheduled Caste candiate Babu Jagjivan Ram aspired to be the Prime Minister of India. So in 1980 Indra ji was required to get some 15% Kshatriyas elected to secure majority alongwith 36% Brahmin M. Ps.

In the last chapter, 2 charts have been added to show the grab of the political and administrative power by the Brahmins. Here, we are interested only pointing to the fact that how power is grabbed and retained by the change of caste equations. Surely you cannot have caste equations without caste considerations. And at the same time these experts in caste equations from Nehru to Indra keep on speaking against caste and keep on dubbing others as castists.

Social System

(A product of Brahminism)



This sketch of the Social System stands like a structure. In this structure the castes are the building bricks. A mere look at the structure will convince us, that it is an epitome of inequality.

How the system stands

In this very chapter a sketch has been added to indicate, how the caste system or the social system stands. In this structure, castes are the building bricks. The sketch is self explanatory. The beneficiaries of the system have cornered all the 5 major powers and sources of the powers, namely : (1) Political (2) Bureaucratic (3) Feudal (4) Economic and (5) Cultural. In the sketch, the castes shown as the intermediary castes which are not a part of the O.B.C. have also benefitted and advanced even though they happen to be the Shudra Castes, religiously speaking. Whereas the victims of the system are losers all around and on every front.

Revolt in the past

In the recent past, many rebellious spirits all over India revolted against this culture of the castes. The revolt of Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy, Narayanaguru and Baba Saheb Ambedkar is outstanding. A plethora of literature is available about their revolt and the success they met. Here, we wish to take note of the means adopted by them to change this culture of the castes. Satya Shodhak Samaj by Mahatma Phule, Rationalism and Atheism by Periyar EVR and Buddhism by Baba Saheb Ambedkar were the means applied by them for affecting change. To-day while looking at the fate of these means, we feel disappointed. It appears that this culture of the castes has the strength and the strong backing to recover the lost ground. But nevertheless the efforts of our crusaders, have resulted in the emancipation of the mind. It will be greatly useful for further expansion of our activity.

Task for the future

In the light of the past experience it can be concluded that the task for the future is tremendous, especially when we know the hidden and open backing this culture of the castes is getting from the beneficiaries of the system. But to change this culture of **Perfect Inequality** into the one of **Absolute Equality** must remain our cherished goal. The present culture is controlled by beneficiaries of the system. But the changed culture of absolute equality must ever remain in the hands of the victims of the present system. It is a must to avoid sabotage and subversion. This is the lesson to be learnt from the fall of the Maurya Empire.

About the Author

The author of this book, Mr. Kanshi Ram is not a writer but an organiser of some standing. For the last 15 years or so he is busy in organising the oppressed and exploited Indians of various varieties for various purposes. The basic purpose of these organisations is to improve the lot of the oppressed and exploited Indians socially, economically, politically and in fact in every walk of human activity and relationship. He is keenly interested in building a movement of the oppressed and exploited Indians to secure them their due and take their movement to the logical end i.e. power to the people. To accomplish all this he has founded the following four Institutions :

1. BAMCEF : Non-Religious, Non-Agitational and Non-Political Organisation of about 2 lakhs educated employees to strengthen the Non-political roots of the Oppressed & Exploited Society.

2. BUDDHIST RESEARCH CENTRE : Not to mix religion with the secular activity, a separate Institution : "Buddhist Research Centre" was started exclusively for religious activity.

3. D - S4 : (Dalit - Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti) An Organisation for Agitation.

4. POLITICAL PARTY : Yet un-named. Steps initiated since April, 1982 for building a National level party for the Oppressed and Exploited Indians.